



ALANIS: JAGGED LITTLE PILL TO
NON-FAT LATTE (ISN'T IT IRONIC)

ALTERED FOR THE ALTAR:
PRE-NUP NOSE JOBS

MACLEAN'S

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE | www.macleans.ca

APRIL 25 2005

Endless scandal • Angry voters • Wobbly leader • Inept cabinet • Paralyzed government • Tories rising • Bloc rising • NDP rising • Liberals sinking

Help!

**PAUL WELLS AT THE
GOMERY INQUIRY**

'One guy tried to
give money back.
The government
wouldn't take it.'

EXCLUSIVE
MARTIN SHOOTS
THE PRESS GALLERY



MARATHON MAN, 74,
SMOKES RIVAL, 71

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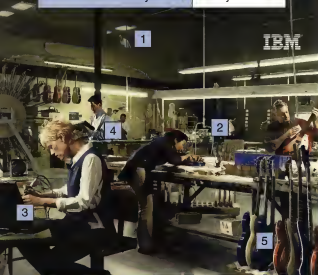


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Steven Ed Webster is Canada's wildest 50k mile

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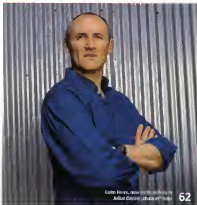
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THE MIGHTY ARE FALLING

We didn't anticipate the Liberal collapse. But then we didn't really know Paul Martin.

A mere sixteen months ago, it looked as though the Liberals would rule Canada forever. Conventional wisdom was that we were a one-party state. None of the opposition parties had a hope of breaking the Liberal monopoly, especially with the impressive Paul Martin replacing Jean Chrétien. I recall meeting organizers of the Canadian Alliance, one of whom called another a fool for suggesting they could force the Grits into a minority

government in just five or six years. Serious political commentators opined that we couldn't worry about the lack of a viable opposition in Ottawa—voters could pick and choose between various Liberal factions, and that would suffice.

Of course, all of that thinking expired during last year's election. It was quickly replaced by a new line: minority parliamentism couldn't be tumbled. A deadly hand-to-hand battle, we were told, could only survive through three or four years of government before returning to the polls. That one began to wear thin mid-2004 as it became clear that the Liberals were not only losing support but also losing the vote of the majority. It was a matter of time before the Liberals would be replaced by a new government.

The Liberals now look more vulnerable with each passing day. The Gomery inquiry, its political fallout, and the fact that the Liberals are now in a position to lose the next election, all of which are now in the hands of the voters, are all of which are now in the hands of the voters. The Liberals are now in a position to lose the next election, all of which are now in the hands of the voters. The Liberals are now in a position to lose the next election, all of which are now in the hands of the voters.

A deeper problem was for the Liberals that the Harper government has a better chance of winning the next election than the Liberals have. The Harper government has a better chance of winning the next election than the Liberals have. The Harper government has a better chance of winning the next election than the Liberals have. The Harper government has a better chance of winning the next election than the Liberals have.

The new conventional wisdom is that the Liberals will be replaced by a new government. The new conventional wisdom is that the Liberals will be replaced by a new government. The new conventional wisdom is that the Liberals will be replaced by a new government.

Stephen Harper hardly comes across as lovable, but then many more chips are waiting to fall his way

ministry seat, one that Harper hardly comes across as lovable, and seems like last week's flip-flop on Kyoto don't enhance his reliability. But many more chips are waiting to fall his way. The Gomery case looks like it will be a disaster for the Liberals. The Harper government has a better chance of winning the next election than the Liberals have.

NOTE: This is the first editorial I've written since my appointment to Maclean's several weeks ago. I don't expect to write this column regularly. I hold publishing as well as editing duties in the magazine, and my schedule, as things stand, can't accommodate a weekly writing assignment. Meanwhile, we will keep writing ahead of developments at Maclean's through Behind the Scenes, and we'll expect to bring you more of the original reporting that has always been the backbone of the magazine. KENNETH WHITE

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"Catholics are saddened but not disheartened by the death of John Paul II. His indomitable spirit will continue to live with them." —Hilario Pinto, Windsor, Ont.

The death of the Pope

After reading "Remembering John Paul II" ("Tribute," Cover, April 11), it dawned on me that the Pope taught me a wonderful lesson—how to die with dignity and courage. Though I never met him, I came to love him because his faith in God helped me in my journey of faith. It's absolutely wonderful how many millions of lives he touched. The world is a better place because of this truly good and decent man.

Michael McCallery, Regina

Pope John Paul II, a man of deep faith, will one day be proclaimed a saint. The Holy Father was an inspiration and a model with new to the life of Christianity. The shepherd of truth incarnated in profound humility and immense love for both God and man. His many writings and tireless, worldwide pilgrimages have been a source of strength, encouragement, confidence, optimism and enlightenment not only to Catholics but to all men of good will. In his historic role in the fall of Communism, John Paul II was the world's most influential and uncompromising defender of the dignity of human life.

Paul Kowalski, Hamilton

My head is still spinning over that visit, fantasy puff edition that your usually fine magazine put out ("The People's Pope," Special Commemorative Issue). The People's Pope? He certainly was the people's Pope—unless you're homosexual. His legacy of compassion? His compassion was felt all around Africa when he told the people beleaguered by AIDS and overpopulation that condom use was a sin. Let's not also forget providing safe haven to that cardinal responsible for acts of colonization by priests in Massachusetts. No, I don't think I'll be reflecting fondly on the "holiness" and "compassion" of this, or any other, pope.

Jay Wilman, Ottawa, Ont.

I don't wish to minimize the positive influence the Pope may have had, but I believe that your short pamphlet about the world's declining ecosystems, including depleted



fish stocks, water supplies and threatened wildlife ("Planet Earth," Up Front, April 11) is an issue that will eventually have more of an impact than Pope John Paul II ever did.

Martha Hewitt, Columbia, Ont.

Your article "The man who would be Pope" quotes Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger as saying that the Church is "not democratic" in its election of public demands that it change its view about birth control, greatly abiding and ordaining women. The author then tries to suggest the Church should become more so. I'm not a Catholic, but I think Ratzinger is correct. The Church is bound by the teaching of scripture, not by the whims of public opinion. There may be



democratic votes for persons who fill positions, but not on doctrine. Scripture—not public opinion—rules.

Edward Ott, Oak Hills

I want to thank you for publishing a story on Terri Schiavo ("Terri's cruel death," Society) in the same issue as your beautiful tribute to the Pope. Both people died at a time and in a manner that made the world sit up and watch. I am grateful that throughout his last few days, Pope John Paul II made it fundamentally clear that it is possible to die with grace and dignity. He gave us a reason to remember that life must be respected until the last breath is drawn.

Heidi Kelly, Cambridge Ont.

Liberals at the public trough

The Glenora revolution on the Liberal sponsorship scandal certainly gave us a good look at how our federal government can waste taxpayer dollars ("Shadowboxing," Politics, April 11). However, such inappropriate use of public funds is not new. The Liberals just got caught by an auditor general who decided it was time. Now, what the Liberals and their backroom cohorts need is a long drive on the backbeaches so that Canadians can experience honest, responsible and accountable government. It will be a real challenge to clean up Ottawa, but it must be done. Our future social and economic prosperity is at stake.

Eric Symons, Langley, B.C.

A royal kerfuffle

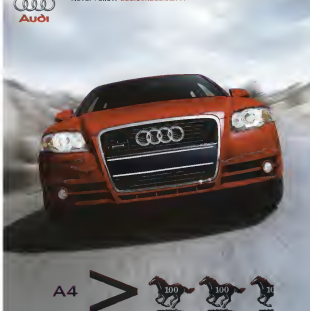
Where did you find the wonderful Rosalind Milner to write about Camilla Parker Bowles and Prince Charles's wedding ("Queen of Canada," Nuptials, April 11)? Yes, yes, she's had so many laughs from Maclean's or enjoyed such lovely, and staged, setting. And surely, after such a measure of royal pretensions, there can't be much excuse for Canada waiting so remains a monarchy in spite of your dapperly placed article "Royal or Republic?" on the page following the picture of the "crowned" queen herself.

Colin Biles, Victoria

While I appreciated Rosalind Milner's detailed and historical details, the disrespectful tone doesn't look good on you. When the photo you selected of Camilla with her eyes closed, wearing a short black dress with lots of leg showing was unfortunate. Do we need



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this situation to silence? Let's just give this couple a quiet good-bye now and get on with our lives.

Diana Kili, Vancouver

May I say that I have never read anything so insulting as Ronald Milen's article. Furthermore, the photo you featured of Cantile wearing a crown was badly done and in poor taste.

James Hill, St. Asaph, Ont.

Too bad you couldn't have worked up the same version, story and just plain inaccuracies about Karl Homolka ("Get out door," *Cover*, March 21) as was evident in the article on the royal wedding.

Liz Powell, Stouffville, Ont.

Ronald Milen's cheeky article managed to accurately assess and portray the frivolous nature of royalty and give it the dignity that the apex of the faltering English dynasty warrants.

Beverly Labrecque, Kingston, Ont.

Forever young

Regarding "The fearless Terry Fox" (*Cover* story, April 4), I remember that, in 1975, the president of my high school student council also died of cancer. He was a personable, articulate youth who made every student feel that he or she was his best friend. Even today, I remember the PR announcement that he had passed away. I remember that the TV news item five years later announcing that Terry Fox was not returning to us. I immediately phoned relatives on vacation in Europe to let them know, and we cried together. The memories of these two young men are forever intertwined in my thoughts. I think both of them for what they gave and thank the many individuals along the way who have advanced our knowledge of human disease.

Olye Bockley, Vancouver

As a parent, I witnessed the same qualities everyone admired so much about Terry Fox when she was 18 months old and diagnosed with stage IV neuroblastoma. Once on five scary pencils between Terry's feet and the back of children's feet, chemotherapy after chemotherapy, too, we drew a parallel between

MACLEAN'S 100 | FROM OUR PAGES

Featuring the work of rich, prolific and wacky novelists

APART FROM BEING FICTITIOUS, Sherlock Holmes, Buddy Morrow and Pinnochio Bailey have something in common: their creators' bylines have all appeared in *Maclean's*. The magazine contained a mix of original and previously published material when it reprinted Arthur Conan Doyle's "The Hound of the Baskin's" in 1918. By that time, the author of the Sherlock Holmes mysteries firmly believed he could communicate with the dead. "The departed all agree that passing is usually both easy and painless, followed by an enormous reaction of peace and ease," he assured his readers who were still among the living.

Few novelists have written more for *Maclean's* than Mordecai Richler, who died in 1993. His first article, "How I became an unknown with my first novel," appeared in 1959, his last, about playoff hockey telecasts, ran in 1993. Over the intervening decades, he contributed pieces on wrestling, the lighter side of communism, Quebec politics, bigotry as practiced by Jews and Gentiles, and a host of other subjects.

If success is measured in financial terms, the most eminent novelist who ever freelanced for *Maclean's* may well be Judith Krantz. In the early 1980s, long before she patented a best-selling blend of sex and shopping in her fictions, she wrote several articles for this magazine. You can bet that whenever she made profiling the lives of Norman Jewison and Robert Goulet in these pages was a pleasure compared with the US\$3.2 million she received in 1990 for the paperback rights to *Pinocchio*. —*Pinetop Young*



Conan Doyle headed the list after

From Our Pages celebrates *Maclean's* anniversary

Terry's goal and the results for too many kids face-not finishing. The Terry Fox Foundation does great work and has raised a tremendous amount of money for cancer research. Pediatric oncology has about a 75 per cent cure rate, which sounds promising, yet it means that one of every four children will die. Imagine what success rates treating childhood cancer we will have with more funding.

David M. Miller, Chair Ontario Parents Advocating for Children with Cancer, Barrie, Ont.

Man on the move

During the late 1950s, I was the school principal in Rankin Inlet, then N.W.T., a few hundred kilometres north of Churchill, Man. Returning home from a conference in southern Canada, I had to change Transair planes in Churchill. My bags were heavy with copious amounts of pastries, oranges, sandwiches and other fresh food as rare and costly up in Rankin. A young Transair employee, neatly suited-up in his blue and-

white uniform, was kind enough to help me shift my luggage. ("Going home again," *Manitoba* on the record, April 4) I was struck by his pleasant and courteous manner and later mentioned it to my Churchill-based superior. I clearly remember my boss's response. "Oh, you must mean Peter Mann bridge. There's a kid who's going places!" —*Dennis MacPherson, Winnipeg, R.C.*

Tall stories

The article on height ("A short history of height," *Science*, April 4) gave no consideration to the impact of immigration. In Canada, where as many as 250,000 newcomers from all over the world are added each year, the average height of the new generation may be heavily influenced by the ethnic mix of these new Canadians. A decline in average height may be more about the diversity of our society than a reflection of inequality, poor health or declining economic conditions. —*Richard Tazewell, Mississauga, Ont.*



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UPFRONT

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World | Targeting Japan in the fight for Asian supremacy

It's not difficult to whip up anti-Japan sentiment in China and South Korea, as authorities in those countries appear to be doing. Memories of wartime atrocities, routinely overlooked in Japanese histories, are still fresh in the public mind elsewhere. And, in more recent years, Japan has been the region's Big Economic Power, lordling it over its trench plant neighbours. Still, the spirit of some-throving anti-Japan rallies that ripped up statues through at least four Chinese cities and Seoul over the past two weeks—well, orchestrated, Japan charges—speaks to a deeper agenda: nothing less than the resurgence of the region's power base.

One obvious sign: Beijing said a blunt No last week to Tokyo's ambition to be a permanent member of a revamped UN Security Council. Because of its war record, China said, Japan does not have the "moral authority"

Two weeks of escalating protests, like this one by students in Beijing, condemn Japan's militaristic past.

to make up such a position. A more subtle signal was Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao's four-day visit to India, where the two emerging powerhouses consolidated a host of business and political alliances—including Beijing's support for India to join the Security Council.

Japan's response has been to remind China of their nearly US\$180 billion in mutual trade, and play hardball on resources by, notably, snagging gas drilling rights to Japanese companies in the disputed waters of the East China Sea. At best, perhaps, this concert will ratchet up the scramble for resources that can only benefit suppliers like Canada. At worst, it could lead to an escalation of old animosities too hasty to contain.

Quote of the week | 'I'm thrilled to think that anyone in America, let alone the President, is listening to it.' COLIN LINDEN, guitarist with Blackie & the Rodeo Kings, a Canadian rockabilly group, discovers one of their songs is on George W. Bush's iPod.

ScoreCard

SOCCER YOBOS
Glasgowans boo Pope at Hearts vs. Celtic match, while in Milan 18 flames are fired onto the pitch over a disputed goal. Soccer bosses consider fan-fest games for some events. Or could move 'em to far less, like Baghdad.

TWENTY'S REVENGE
Wisconsin voters opt for open election on local cuts, nudging next door's tally if it strays off property. Loose intimates blamed for critics of dead songbirds. Trills now to be drowned out by cacophony of gunfire.

GRITS
Federal governing pairs or trios, if it's lacking as Gomeri wreckage piles up. Thirty-four side with forces on same-side vote, while two trade scuttles like "not" and "hondo." Don't say "mild-mannered" is at all deflection. What party in its right mind would want the end?

SMUCKERS
Fruit spread plant claims several biter and jelly sandwich feds under its patron. Gums dreamed by U.S. patent office yet launches appeals, without by critics' snickers about spreading lipgloss. Chocolate milk: call your lawyers.

Mansbridge on the Record



WHY HARPER MAY PAUSE

There are good reasons for waiting before pulling the plug on the Liberals

TWO WEEKS BEFORE last June's federal election, I had lunch with one of the country's best known political strategists. After leading Liberals for years, he was quite excited by the prospect of a Conservative victory. Our lunch came as a lot of observers were predicting a Stephen Harper win. But my table companion was worried. "When you have your foot on the throat of a Gnu, you can't let it slip around," he warned. "You have to keep pressing down." The message was clear—the Liberals have been in power for most of Canada's history because they know how to bounce back from adversity. Recent back they did, as the Conservatives eased off and started predicting victory. Worse, some candidates moved off the approved party script about what they might do if they did win.

Here we are 10 months later, and there are a lot of feet pressing down on the Liberal throat once again. The question is, will they keep pressing, or let up? In other words, will the government normally in action from the latest Gomery testimony, will the opposition continue to force an election? And if not, why not? The polls will have a lot to do with the decision—if the public surveys and the party's own private data show a clear and continuing pattern of Liberals in free fall, then there may be no stopping the momentum toward a vote. But other factors are likely being considered, especially by Harper, who has the most to gain—the prime ministership—and, if he fails to deliver, likely the most to lose—his job.

“Stephen Harper has the most to gain—the prime ministership—and, if he fails to deliver, likely the most to lose—his job.”

1) Only two months ago, the Conservatives nearly imploded because of internal divisions over policy between its right and left wings. Despite a polished up-on-overseen performance, those divisions are still there, and they're never very far from the surface. They could explode again during a campaign. Time may help heal the split or at least move the bitterest opponents to the campaign sidelines.

2) If the Liberal collapse is a rational calculation, the Conservatives could use additional time to recruit quality candidates in the key battle grounds of Ontario and Quebec. There's nothing like the prospect of winning to attract candidates of stature, who could then turn encouraging polling numbers into actual wins.

3) Time could also calm voters on another issue that's raised caution flags. If all these recent surveys are correct, the public doesn't want an election now. Patience could be a virtue.

However, the risk and file of the Conservative's strategy is foolish, comparing the current scandal-ravaged landscape to those of 1984 and 1993, when the parties in power were reduced to mere rump. But one needs to be careful with that comparison. In both cases, the new governments of John Turner in 1984 and Kim Campbell in 1993 were ahead in the polls when the campaigns started—they lost the leads when voters focused on exactly what they were offering. If an election were held now, and if the surveys are right, this campaign would start with the Liberals as the underdog, and the party trying to replace them in the lead and the focus of attention. In that event, Conservatives would want to make sure they had their act fully together or they might suddenly find a few disoriented. And maybe that's why Stephen Harper is pausing to reflect. ■

Peter Mansbridge is Chief Correspondent of CBC television news and author of *The National*. He can be reached at tmansb@cbc.ca.

FaceTime

Guilt, again
She was just 18 when first charged with the death of Beverly Wink, the Victoria teen whose autopsy testing by a group of medical girls shocked the nation in 1997. Jody Kilgus is 22 now, a slight

woman with sad, haunted eyes and a past that just won't go away. After five days of deliberation, a Vancouver jury found Kilgus guilty of second-degree murder in Wink's death. It was her second conviction of three adult years seven years, the first was overturned on appeal, the second trial resulted in a hung jury. Despite Kilgus's denial, the



Coaches
Big Bird, of course, is very understanding, but as mini-carrier adjustments go, this is like Oscar the Grouch suddenly deciding to help.



Guerrilla man
He's not like, it seems, may not be that far removed from the mainstream. He plays on *Travis* Park Boys.



jury accepted the testimony of co-accused Wilma Goudie, currently serving a life sentence, that he and a friend followed Wink over a bridge after the hearing and held her under water for the Wink family, the verdict brought relief that the long legal ordeal was finally over. Kilgus, meanwhile, finds out on April 25 if the life sentence will have the possibility of parole after five years or seven.

Little old ladies
across the street. The news from Somerset Street, Conker Monks will be cutting down on his cocktail can, in order to make a point about child-headed obesity. From now on, cocktails will be only an occasional snack for CM, to alternate with fruit and vegetables. No longer the *Wesley* cry, "It's the cocktail, that's good enough for me."

Looking his support to a group trying to end the video lottery terminals, Halifax actor John Quinlan told reporters he was an ardent VLT supporter. Quinlan, 34, is pulling 1,000 of his 2,000 VLTs from bars and other public places. But there's not enough for a growing number who say their lives are being ruined by habitual gambling.

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WORLD

HOLOCAUST In a sharp rebuke to Swiss banks, a New York court awarded nearly US\$22 million to the heirs of two Austrian businessmen who had entrusted their sugar refinery to a Zurich bank in 1938, only to have it "Aryanized" and resold to a Nazi purchaser within months. Believed to be the largest single payment from a bank to compensate Holocaust victims, the money is being shared by 13 descendants, including the five children of Viennese businessman Peter Bradley, chairman of lumber giant Canfor Corp.



WATERY GRAVES Coast Guard boats capture a rising-y coffin after heaver this dead spring rains had a jammed Mike gate flooded some homes, roads and public buildings in the hard place they call The Leak.

relies that would require passports to cross the Canada-U.S. border starting in 2007. He said the plan looks too disruptive for the everyday traffic between the two countries.

FARES BURSTING A spectacular fire ripped through an aging Paris hotel used mostly to house needy immigrants. At least 30 people were killed, half of them children, and

scores more were injured, some by jumping through burning windows.

SUDAN Wealthy nations pledged at least US\$4.5 billion to help war-torn Sudan rebuild its roads, hospitals and other institutions following nearly two decades of civil strife. The U.S. was the largest contributor with US\$1.7 billion, but said it depended on Sudan's ability to stop warring guerrilla fighters in the Darfur region. Canada offered US\$73 million.

VOLCANO Tens of thousands of villagers were evacuated as Mount Taal in central Samar began spewing ash and other debris. The second largest of the Indonesian islands, Samar bore the brunt of the Boxing Day tsunami—at least 120,000 were killed there in the province of Aceh. A second quake on March 28 killed about 1,200, most on the neighboring island of Nias.

SPINNER An American spinner who sent up to 10 million e-mails a day from his home in Raleigh, N.C., was sentenced to nine years in prison. His was the first test case under the country's tough new anti-spam laws. Prosecutors said Jeremy Jaynes earned up to US\$750,000 a month marketing porn and junk products over the Internet.

DIRECTED U.S. prosecutors charged a Texas oilman, his Bulgarian partner and a British middleman with paying millions in kickbacks to Saddam Hussein and his cronies in the UN's scandal-plagued oil-for-food program in the mid-1990s. Under embargo

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Mercedes-Benz

BY TIM DOLGOSHIN



THE DAY YOU CAN BUY 16 FLUID OZ. OF BRICKS, WE'LL MAKE ONE KIND OF SOFTWARE SOLUTION.



You business is unique. Your goals are different. But the issues you deal with are the same. What is who S&P offers modular software solutions for the business you run. Whether you're a large company or a small company, it's better you're one-stop in handling supplies or milk. We have an S&P solution for you—and it's grounded in our years of working with the business community in your industry. Because we know business fundamentals. And we know what makes your business fundamentally different. And so does our software. Your software package to see how we can help your business.

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UPFRONT

at the time, Iraq was allowed to sell limited amounts of its oil in exchange for humanitarian aid. The allegation is that middlemen bought the oil at phony prices and pocketed back part of the profits to Saddam.

WOSHER A prominent Israeli rabbi, now says it's kosher to take Viagra during Passover so long as the little blue pill is placed in a special plastic capsule before April 23, when the holiday begins. Putting the pill in a kosher capsule keeps it from coming into contact with the body.

HEALTH | SCIENCE

FLU VIRUS Canadian health officials are being credited with averting a major flu outbreak after a B.C. lab spotted a highly contagious strain of Asian flu that was inadvertently sent to about 3,747 labs around the world. The strain, which killed between one and four million people from 1957 to the late 1960s, was somehow sent out as part of a "proficiency test" by the U.S.-based College of American Pathologists. Anyone born after 1968 would not have any immunities to it.

FINDING Philadelphia researchers are challenging the long-held belief that a modest ripple can help breast milk flow in new

rooms. In fact, says the study of 17 lactating women, alcohol inhibits the supply of breast milk rather than encouraging it.

CANADA

HOMOLUX Ontario added all provinces to request special judicial conditions on convicted killer Karla Homolka so authorities can keep track of her once she is released from her 12-year manslaughter sentence in July. The highly unusual measure is normally used only for killers or sex offenders thought to be at high risk of reoffending again, and now will be challenged by Homolka's lawyers.

At the same time, Attorney General Michael Bryant said Ontario would not try Homolka for the drug-rape death of her 15-year-old sister Tammy in 1990. Homolka was never charged with her sister's death, but her controversial plea bargain in 1993, to entice her to testify against ex-husband Paul Bernardo, took it into account.

HATE MONGER He was meekly, soft-spoken and full of hate. From the mid-1970s to the early 1990s, German-born Wolfgang Drogos was among Canada's best-known neo-Nazis—the leader of a band of Toronto-based street toughs called the Heritage Front. Heven also sentenced to three years

in prison for plotting a coup on the Caribbean island of Dominica, to turn it into a base for white-supremacist drug-running. Drogos, 55, was shot twice and killed inside his Toronto apartment, reportedly over a woman, by a man police described as a former friend.

MATIA HIT Forty-five-year-old Lucinda Matia, a mother of three from north Toronto, was on a plane buying a late-night snack last April when she found herself in the crosshairs of a contract killing gone disastrously awry. She ended up paralyzed for life, and now police have charged four men—a long-time Mafia associate, a Hell's Angel and two others—with her shooting and a variety of other crimes. The most prominent of those charged is Peter Scarsella, 34, a colleague of Montreal gang boss Vincent "Sonny" Wynn and the former chauffeur of Paul Velpe, whose body was found stuffed in a trunk at Toronto airport in 1983.

TRANSFUSION B.C.'s Supreme Court authorized a blood transfusion for a 14-year-old girl with cancer who had been refusing the procedure because she is a Jehovah's Witness. The teen is undergoing chemotherapy but argued that a transfusion went against her religion. The judge and freedom of religion is not absolute, and courts are duty bound to protect a child's life.



AS MILAN BURNS

Within days of first seeing the fire, AC Milan players by training about 10 kilometers onto the pitch during a key match between cross-town rivals AC Milan and Inter Milan. Ahead of the time, AC Milan was worried the win, while Inter Milan will be forced to play its next four games in stadium, forcing millions in receipts.

Mary Janigan | ON THE ISSUES



MARTIN: 'I DON'T LIKE IT'

It's another sad story—how the PM vetoed the foreign policy review for no clear reason

IN RETROSPECT, the sad tale of our foreign policy review perfectly captures the Martin government's dismal record. It began more than a year ago as an ambitious effort to ensure our policies in foreign affairs, defence, aid and trade buttressed each other. That makes a lot of sense. Canada needs to figure out where it can make a difference—and concentrate its finite resources in those areas. Officials set to work happily, holding meetings, hammering out priorities. The resulting document secured the approval of all four cabinet ministers: Defence's Bill Graham, Foreign Affairs's Aileen Carroll, Trade's Jim Prentiss and the lead minister, Pierre Pettigrew, at Foreign Affairs.

And then it went to cabinet. Inside my Paul Martin lobby production, "I don't like it." No one could elicit a much more detailed critique. PMO staff took over the file, consulting CANADIAN JOURNALIST Welch, an international relations expert at Oxford University who advocates a global leadership role for Canada in areas where we can make a difference. Welch briefly perused a slim paper on values she reportedly had not time to tear apart such a minutely detailed multidepartmental document. So the PMO chips rolled her essay on top of the bureaucrats' efforts—and changed the name of this hybrid from "review" to the far more modest "statement."

We export more than twice as much to the Netherlands as to India, even though we have 750,000 Indo-Canadians

“We export more than twice as much to the Netherlands as to India, even though we have 750,000 Indo-Canadians

U.S. (one-fifth of one per cent) went to India. We export more than twice as much to the Netherlands—even though the Indo-Canadian community, which could be a basis for fostering transnational links, now numbers more than 750,000 people. “We have put all of our export eggs in one basket with the U.S.,” says Canada-India trade expert Ravi Seethapathy. “Meanwhile, the U.S. has made tremendous inroads.”

In the absence of clear directives, International Trade's Peterson is struggling to make up for lost time. Two weeks ago, he led a five-day mission with 52 participants through India. The two governments declared that an investment protection pact would be signed by year's end. They agreed to negotiate a deal to expand mutual access for their airlines and a science and tech agreement. (Remarkably, 57 nations already have S&T pacts with India.) As well, private Canadian firms asked for agreements with Indian companies. It's a start. “We have ignored the Indians, so we are now scrambling,” Peterson said in a recent interview. “We have had a pretty easy time of doing business with our east door neighbour. But in going to get together to make the Americas into more competitive businesses.”

True, it's tough for newcomers to break into emerging markets. “But more Canadian companies are risk-averse,” laments the Canada-India Business Council's Margaret Vokes. “Americans take more risk and fork out money faster.” True. Still, our firms and Peterson himself can only do so much. Newton whipped through India last January on a hectic day-long tour, mostly limiting himself to political issues. He must do more if he wants to make inroads. As to that foreign policy statement, guess what? As would emerge then, the Gov. Gen. published it soon anyway—to show how much they've done. **B**

Mary Janigan is a political and policy writer living in Toronto and Ottawa.

Passages

RECOVERING Brian Mulroney is still in a Montreal hospital more than a month after surgery on March 15 to remove a benign lesion from his lung. The former prime minister, 66, is being treated for acute pancreatitis, an inflammation resulting from the operation, and while he is now doing well, doctors said full recovery will take a while yet.

VICTORIOUS Nearly knocked out early in the competition, Randy Turvey's Edmonton rink rallied over Scotland to win its fourth world curling title, this one before mostly Canadian fans in Victoria. The four titles tie him with Regina curling legend Ernie Richardson.

DIED Some called Doug Peden the best all-round Canadian athlete of his generation. A world-class cyclist, baseball player and cricketer who also helped Canada to win an Olympic silver in men's basketball in 1936, Peden died in his hometown, Victoria, a week before his 89th birthday.

SENTENCED Then 23, Clara DeSilva went solo dancing—her passion—one hot night in September 2002. But the Toronto woman left her two-year-old daughter, Adellana, alone in a sweltering apartment for 33 hours. De Silva pleaded guilty to manslaughter in the child's death and was sentenced to three years in prison, much less than the eight to 12 prosecutors wanted.

AWARDED Leilei Sannawith and Alison Smith, both 39, were walking their dogs in Port Moody, B.C., on Aug. 9 when they saw a woman being threatened by a man with a gun. By yelling and drawing attention to themselves, they allowed Martina Seymour, 34, to run to a highway, where another good Samaritan, motorist Don Miller, 48, sped her away amid a hail of bullets. The three were among 20 Canadians given the Medal of Bravery by Gov. Gen. Adrienne Clarkson.



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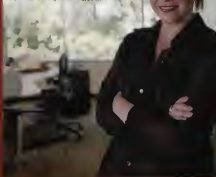
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THE INCREDIBLE SINKING PRIME MINISTER

A wobbly leader, inept cabinet, paralyzed government—all that, and the sponsorship scandal too. JOHN GEDDES reports on the crisis in Ottawa.



IT MUST BE TORTURE FOR PAUL MARTIN TO LOOK BACK. On Feb. 2, 2004, when his government's first speech from the Throne was read by Governor General Adrienne Clarkson, the new Prime Minister, who had for so long looked like he could do no wrong as finance minister, seemed on the brink of fulfilling a political destiny. Martin promised to inject new life into Canadian democracy, solve the problems of the health-care system, restore Canada's status on the world stage. A week and a day later, Auditor General Sheila Fraser released her scathing report on the sponsorship program. Since then, Martin's status as a leader of destiny has been replaced by the cloud that hangs over those politicians—the Joe Clarke, John Turner and Ken Campbell—who were fated for frustration.

The scandal bequeathed to Martin by Jean Chrétien, his predecessor and father-in-law, is bad enough in itself. What makes it worse is the way the offer constantly slips: relief Martin's own shortcomings. With new accusations hurled against his Liberals daily, the party could use a leader capable of throwing strong rhetorical counterpunches—but Martin is often a flustered House debater. With Justice John Gurney's inquiry sifting up juicy revelations with the regularity of a well-sprayed daphne soap, the PM should be trying to steel some courage with bold action—but his style tends more toward long deliberation. "This government has never had enough snap, crackle and pop," observes pollster Darrin Bricker, president of Ignite-Rend Public Affairs. "I give people the impression that they would be losing sight of it if you voted out of power."

The prospect of this happening, perhaps in a June election, now looms large. Last fall, when Gurney was holding hearings in Ottawa, the past and present government officials who testified cleared up little about what actually happened under the sponsorship program that operated, mostly in Quebec, from 1997 to 2003. But when the hearings shifted to Montreal this year, the tone changed radically.

Advertising executives have testified about millions flowing in the most dubious fashion, sometimes in scenes that sound more like the stuff of madmen than the workings of a federal plan to boost Canada's image. "Money in envelopes on restaurant tables and all that," says Bricker. "It's very easy for people to understand."

Understanding that what went on was utterly wrong is one thing. But for voters, deciding who should take the fall first might turn out to be more complicated. Or, at least, so Martin must hope. He cast himself as the new guy who came in after the steady decline that went on during Chrétien's watch and launched the inquiry. The problem is that Canadians have vivid memories of Martin as the second most powerful man in Chrétien's government, a Liberal lion with his own extensive political network. Three recent polls left little doubt he was, at least for now, set in command to give Martin a free pass for what went on under his former boss.

Blending these Ignite-Rend, Black Research and Environics polls, the Laurier Institute for the Study of Public Opinion and Policy, at Wilfrid Laurier University, projects that of 308 seats in the House, Conservatives would now win 114, up from their current 99. The Liberals

Red is also the colour of Martin—while the opposition smells.

would be reduced to a humbling 88 MPs, down from the 135 they retained in last June's election. The NDP would rise to 42 from just 19 now, while British Columbia's Chuck Cadman would continue to sit as the lone independent member. Perhaps most disheartening for many Canadians, the Bloc Québécois' total would shrink to 63 seats from 54's 54, leaving just 12 Quebec Liberals in the Commons.

The prospect of separatists so overwhelmingly dominating Quebec guarantees one major aspect of a Martin spring election strategy: he would run as the champion of national unity. So Conservative Leader Stephen Harper must take pains to avoid appearing to be in cahoots with Gilles Duceppe's sovereigntists. Last week, the Bloc backed away from using its term to set the House agenda—on what's called an opposition day—to force a non-confidence vote. Harper had said his party wouldn't vote with the Bloc, declaring that he refused to let the separatists set the election timetable. It would have been the first chance for the

THERE was a time when Martin seemed on the brink of fulfilling a political destiny. It must be torture to look back.

May 19 on their belated arrival as the next Tory-controlled opposition day when the party might be willing to accept the vote that would elect the Liberals. If that happened, Canadians might go to the polls on June 27—a year less a day since the last election.

During that time, the Martin government's office often seemed stuck in neutral. Since the intense behind-the-scenes bickering that produced last fall's health accord with the provinces, the Prime Minister's nervous system seemed like a train with a mission. In an interview with *Maclean's* late last year, he candidly admitted that he had been forced to learn on the job how to focus on just a few priorities. He vowed to be more disciplined about using his personal power to advance selected initiatives. Yet the one he said would get his unrivaled attention, foreign policy, has been a glaring problem. The government's protracted sweeping international policy review was repeatedly held up, apparently by wrangling

between advisors in the Prime Minister's Office and mandarins in the Foreign Affairs department.

Other key policies haven't fared much better. The Liberals campaigned last year on a promise to deliver a major new national child care and early learning program. Social Development Minister Ken Dryden seemed to be making progress toward a deal with the provinces, but failed to hammer out the necessary agreement to put the plan in place by the time of this winter's federal budget. In due time 2004, moreover, Martin described how he planned to do this key key key—singling out childcare as an example—when he did not need to close the sale. But when Dryden ran into resistance on finalizing a daycare deal, there was no sign of any prime ministerial surgical strike.

One problem is Martin's tendency to trust processes, rather than asserting more direct personal control. He set up a raft of new cabinet committees, including an operations committee that meets twice a week and often serves as a top-level forum for very lengthy

policy discussion. His close circle of long-time loyalists is widely seen as Ottawa's most exclusive debating society, not an efficient decision-making machine. But Martin's penchant for foster-

ing discussion is praised by his base as evidence that he takes ideas seriously. And some have pointed out that his willingness to give up direct control, to allow a process to find answers, was what led him to set up the Quebec inquiry itself. Still, *Maclean's* sees his style as one reason his government can't seem to build momentum.

It isn't helped that Martin's inexperienced ministers have had a steep learning curve to climb. Unwilling to compromise of the Clinton era in his cabinet, he appointed untested rookies to key posts, even in sprawling departments, such as former hockey player and executive Dryden at Social Development, and former B.C. forest products boss now as David Emerson at Industry Canada. And the paucity of political skills in Martin's cabinet has been evident as the going has gotten tough. Ministers in precarious portfolios have not engaged in tough combat in the opposition fray. Instead, the Liberals have



retired heavily in the House on Public Works and Government Services Minister Scott Brison, the New Scotian who defected from the Tories in December 2003 and moved it up in cabinet last month from during Question Period. Outside the Commons, Quebec MP François Bibeau, a previously little-known backbencher, has stepped forward as a passionate defender of the battered Liberal brand.

But with no ideas on bearing down on them, Liberals lack they need more than a couple of good scrappers. The government is trying to shift into gear. Two major announcements last week suggested a new sense of urgency. Environment Minister Stéphane Dion unveiled the government's long-stalled plan to implement the Kyoto climate change treaty. And John Godfrey, the minister of energy for infrastructure and construction, made the first official expected string of announcements on the so-called new deal for cities.

On at least two more key fronts, the bid to shake off the months' old sense of inertia will continue as early as this week. That much delayed foreign policy review is finally expected to be released. More likely to attract attention and spark controversy, will be a move soon to take on some provinces over health services that Ottawa says are being sold in violation of the Canada Health Act. "British Columbia, Alberta, Quebec—these are the three provinces where I think there are issues with respect to diagnostic imaging," Health Minister Ujjal Dosanjh said last week. He plans to trigger a dispute-resolution process to try to force those provinces to put a stop to MHI scans offered outside provincial insurance plans. "We'll be ready to go pretty soon," he added.

And by now, he clearly means before the expected campaign. Confronting the provinces will help Martin portray himself

Harper may try to avoid the impression that he's in cahoots with the Tories.

as the champion of public health care—and Harper as an enemy. It worked well for him in last year's campaign. But this time around, it may be more difficult for the Prime Minister to do so without anything other than the second. No national campaign is about a single issue, but this one could end up being the most hot-button question since the 1988 election over free trade. Harper will be framing it as a question of Liberal corruption. Martin faces the tougher task of persuading Canadians that the residents of only some Liberals are at issue.

This week, the Bloc and the Conservatives will try to shift the focus to two of Martin's closest confidants. Opposition MPs successfully pushed to have the House public accounts committee subpoena Terrie O'Leary, who was Martin's chief of staff when he was finance minister, and David Hele, co-chairman of the 2004 Liberal

election campaign, to answer questions about public opinion research contracts that went to Rasmichiff Strategy Group, the powerful firm that served as Martin's brain trust when he was finance minister. Exactly what Bloc and Tory MPs are fishing for is unclear, but they will surely aim to broaden the case of Liberal players under suspicion beyond the Christian-backed Equinox being probed by Gomery.

Much will depend on how close the scandal encroaches on Martin and his circle. Last week, Harper pressed the Prime Minister repeatedly over security testimony that suggested Martin had once lunched with Claude Bédard, president of Groupe Énergie, one of the Montreal ad agencies caught up in the affair. Martin defiantly dodged the question for two days, before finally issuing a flat denial. So far, only tenuous links have been drawn between the figures at the heart of the scandal and Martin or his Montreal organization. Though several of the main players in the sponsorship program were undoubtedly close to Chrétien, two no secret: that Chrétien's political machine focused with Martin's and the two Liberal factions rarely overlapped.

Even if Martin and his crew are never shown to have been involved, he will still face charges that they may have heard about wrongdoing and failed to act to stop it. But Scott Reid, Martin's director of communications, argues that the more loud the picture of corruption painted at the Gomery hearings, the more plausible it is that the perpetrators would have gone to great lengths to keep that secret to themselves. "When people are doing that, they're not usually in the business of subverting it," Reid said. Even when they are in the advertising business.

No doubt, cynical aims and strategy go together. It adds up, though, as a tough line to sell the Canadian voter: the same that sound like, the more believable (if that Martin never caught wind of it). But then again, there is no easy message, no obvious campaign theme, for the Liberals. They must crawl out from under the worst scandal in memory, conduct a lengthy governing record in short order, convey a message of reform through a Prime Minister and a cabinet woefully short on effective communications. If coming back to the days when Martin appeared golden as pariah for Liberals, facing the job ahead could be worse. **F**

In the House last week, Paul Martin interrupted a debate to grab Michael's Chief Photographer Peter Bragg's camera, and swooped off some shots of the assembled scribbles and signatures (below). If nothing else, it appears that the campaign-style antics have finally begun.



HE TRIED TO GIVE MONEY BACK, BUT OTTAWA SAID NO

What do you do when there's so much money raining down you run out of buckets?

PAUL WELLS reports from the Gomery inquiry.

FINALLY, THERE CAME A MOMENT when it was raining tax dollars so hard in Quebec that even a moonrider man started running out of buckets to catch them. Since 1999 and again in 2002, Luc Lemay tried something new: he attempted to give some of the money back.

Perhaps it should come as more of a surprise than it did last week to learn that the federal government wouldn't let him.

Lemay was the first of two who-bled, soft-spoken fellows who testified before the Gomery inquiry in Montreal last week. Jacques Corriveau, the graphics designer and sometime friend of Jean Chrétien, was the second. A parade of witnesses has testified that Corriveau knew all the right people and all the smart angles where it came to getting some of the astonishing largesse from the federal sponsorship program. But today he seems a wretched figure of memory, the better from age and fading health.

Lemay was in publishing and trade shows. The sponsorship program made him quite rich. The blend of tenacity and naiveté he brought to the witness stand was almost a mirror image of Corriveau's. Lemay's memory is actually quite acute, but during the period that lately occupies the attention of Justice John Gomery and most of Canada's political class, Lemay seems to have opened to a series of almost childlike ruminations.

One couldn't escape the impression his incoherence was wild. Paced with a succession of taxpayer-funded and highly lucrative gift horses, Lemay thought better of leading any of them in the mouth.

The risk of tax money started to fall on Lemay in 1997. He hired Corriveau, for \$125,000, to do some design and layout work for a big outdoor life inside show at Montreal's Olympic Stadium. One day, more

or less out of nowhere, Corriveau told him he'd found \$400,000 from the federal government. Corriveau didn't say what part of the government. Quickly establishing a trend, Lemay decided not to ask. "I recognized it as a subsidy," he told Gomery's lead counsel, Bernard Rapin. Gomery interrupted. "Or you won the lottery? Because it practically fell from the heavens, didn't it?" Indeed, Lemay said. He briefly searched for something similarly clever to say, before settling for

"We were very happy."

Lemay is a bright fellow not to ask questions. He was very happy, he said.

"He hardly knew from happy yet. He would learn. Over the next five years, Lemay asked \$36.5 million in federal sponsorship money from Groupe Polygone, his magazine and electronic publishing company, and Express, his trade-show firm. For this handsome benefit from Corriveau's Ottawa connections, Lemay paid Corriveau's Print Design outfit a total of \$6.7 million in commissions.

Right away, unhelpful questions would have arisen if Lemay had been the only man. The want for somebody who uses Ottawa connections to seek business benefits for clients is "lobbying." But lobbying must register and have their work tightly regulated. Corriveau had done none of that. So they agreed that Corriveau would bill for services, and thus it would be a happy coincidence if the "services" always added up to 17.5 per cent of any federal



sponsorship customer Lemay was.

These years with taxpayer dollars, you have me with taxpayer dollars. Who could complain? Incidentally having power such is profitable state of mind. Lemay wasted no time transferring himself into a regular Sergeant Shaltis. He was nothing. He heard nothing. He paid the bills. Camerota was his without even looking at them. Sometimes he paid, on Camerota's word that anyway was his, without even needing that Camerota hadn't sent any sort of bill.

So Lemay's eyebrows never went up when Camerota billed him for an impressive series of trade shows in the spring of 2000, in a grotesque string of smallish Quebec municipalities, Trois-Rivières, Sherbrooke, Ste-Foy. Each time, according to Camerota's identical bills, for shows which "will take place...at the Olympic Stadium."

None of the events in question has ever had an Olympic stadium. "Perhaps one day," Gormery said. Circumstances have lately given the judge several opportunities a day to have him already been cut for a dorky funny punchline.

Sam comes to Gormery's angry walk over the intercom from Roy. "But you're a businessman, Mr. Lemay!" he asked on Wednesday, in his extraordinarily fluent but heavily anglo-accented French. "I have a hard time believing you simply accepted any bill for any amount—without even verifying whether the amount paid by Polygone and Expor were about 175 per cent. Did you check that occasionally?"

"No, Lemay said. "Then," Gormery said, "you're not the businessman I thought."

But here, if I may, is precisely where Gormery aimed towards the golden hope that reigned at the time. Lemay was getting rich by not asking. Camerota's minimalist billing practices were simply the cost of keeping the golden goose alive. It was asking that would get everyone in trouble. At the time, Lemay had this on the highest authority: that Ottawa bureaucrats from whom all tax dollars flowed.

For a while, this whole lucrative business seemed to rest on a bedrock principle of common sense: for the federal government to leave the Canadian dog in the trade-show business, then had to be made obvious. The amount of money you after seemed almost minuscule and the billing was last but, but there had to be some anchor in the real world. Even the "Olympic Stadium" spring 2000 tour



One day, more or less out of nowhere, Camerota's bill found \$400,000.

of small-town Quebec had one, too: in the realm of reality the show in question did take place, albeit not in Olympic stadiums.

But neither the events that were to serve as the host for this festival of back-scratching had to be cancelled outright. That's when things really got weird.

Lemay weighed \$333,000 for an outdoor life-and-sports-related show in Quebec City

and Ralph Goodale tried to start closing up the mess, to join Clinton's public works minister in 2000, nobody in Ottawa ever asked where the money had gone.

Then an even bigger event was cancelled: a farm machinery show at the Olympic Stadium—the one that actually exists, in Montreal—in 2000. Lemay landed \$500,000 in sponsorship money for that one. Then, as happens with disconcerting regularity, the stadium's roof was and it became unusable for a while.

Off goes Luc Lemay to Gormery's basement at Public Works, Pierre Tremblay. And again, Tremblay was horrified at the prospect of selling taxpayers' money back once the use for it, however tenuous, had vanished altogether. The moment when Lemay described what happened next was one of the most darkly comic of a transcendently entertaining week at the Gormery show.

"Listen," Lemay recalled Tremblay telling him when he raised the issue of reimbursement. "If you do that you're going to get me in... Lemay shrugged himself. "I won't say the word."

"In the term 'no'?" Roy affirmed.

"Exactly," Lemay said, refined.

Gormery joined the fun. "On the farm, we say 'in the mud'."

"In the mud," Lemay agreed. "In chocolate, if you like."

Once again, Lemay was told to spread the money around into other events. Once again



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LIFE BEFORE JEAN BRAULT

He brought down the house, but the inquiry had already heard plenty about misuse of public funds

IN WICKEDLY IRONIC FASHION, the chicken of Ottawa's unity program came home to roost last week, producing a rare moment of perfect national togetherness. Even lifelong Quebec separatists paused for a brief moment to appreciate this compact of quasi-comic unity, when the whole of Canada turned to be of one mind, and to speak with one—surprise!—note. That followed the testimony of Montreal adviser Jean Brault at the Gomery inquiry into the sponsorship scandal, where he alleged that \$1.2 million

worth of public money found its way into Liberal party offices through a system of double billings, false invoices, bogus laptops and cash payments in crime lanes.

But Brault was No. 77 on the schedule of witnesses at the inquiry, which had already collected more than 16,000 pages of transcript. He was the first to allege that the Liberal party had benefited from the sponsorship program, which had been set up in 1996, ostensibly to improve Ottawa's image in Quebec. But previous testimony had

already painted a scary picture of gross misuse of public funds—while providing some prime political theatre.

Both the former and current prime ministers, Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin, were seated at the front of the commission. That star Chrétien had tried to derail the proceedings, alleging that Justice John Gomery was pre-occupied when he made inappropriate comments during a media interview, including criticizing Chrétien as being "small-town cheap" for having golf balls made with his

initials. In his testimony, Chrétien reminded everyone that the integrity of the sponsorship program was to fight separatism, and he brushed details aside. Instead, he tried to stall the show by producing, with great flourish, golf balls signed by other leaders, including former U.S. president Bill Clinton. It almost worked.

Patently, the commission had shed light on a highly leaky group of bureaucrats, advertisers, lobbyists and Crown corporations

executives who used sponsorship funds to, among other things, attend sports events and dine in fancy restaurants. Former top sponsorship bureaucrat Charles Gagné had to admit that executives were known and that he would do better if he had to do it again. Former public works minister Alfonso Gagliano, whose department administered the program and who had claimed to have little direct knowledge of it, had to change his story concerning the number of times he had actually met with Gagné to discuss details. Gagliano also said: "Everybody who worked for the Liberal party was paid by the Liberal party." Brault later testified that his company hired two men who were in fact working for the party.

The Gomery inquiry has also shed light on the fact that vast sums of sponsorship money were circulating between the government and Crown corporations such as Via Rail and Canada Post, both run by men very close to Chrétien—and that advertising companies received huge commissions just to

move that money around. Preceded by Gomery about a specific \$125,000 transaction in the Business Development Bank of Canada, Jean Chrétien, a former aide to Chrétien, acknowledged that it looked at times very much like money laundering. And for hawblers, the pickings were rich indeed. The RCMP received more than \$1.5 million to help it look none... Canadian. Ottawa sponsored Canada Post for a stamp-creation contest at a cost of more than \$300,000.

Auditor General Sheila Fraser started the ball rolling in a damning report in February 2004, noting that \$100 million of the program's \$250-million budget had gone to advertising agencies under questionable circumstances. Quebecers have been incensed since. Now, it seems the rest of the country has the bug, too. "Many Canadians were viewing it as a Quebec scandal, and the Brault testimony," pollster Jean MacGillivray says. "Now, they see it as a national issue." And if that happened in Quebec over the last year in any indication, the blame will not be down soon in the rest of Canada either. "The damage looks universal," Lidger

old Macleau's "First, the Liberal label has been seriously damaged, of course. But then, it's the political class as a whole that is profoundly discredited. People have lost confidence in their politicians. We are clearly approaching the end of an era."

The revelation has stirred old ghosts in

THE testimony has provided some prime political theatre. The RCMP got money to be more...Canadian?

Quebec's political class: those of the Grande Noirceur, the Great Darkness of the Duplessis regime in the 1950s, when patronage, nepotism and arrogance were the norm. What happened next? The Quiet Revolution, and René Lévesque, cutting his teeth as a reformer in the 1960s. Powerful ghosts, those. If there is an election soon, Lidger says, people will want more than just to replace one party with another. "They are looking

for a leader who will embody change."

But the poaching Liberals have started parading in old bogymen's hats: that toppling the government is playing into the separatists' hands. The separatists, who until recently had refused to play any more. In the event of a Conservative government, and with few Liberals left in Quebec, Bloc Québécois leader Gilles Duceppe could, in a mere instant, jump to provincial politics as head of the Parti Québécois and run against an unpopular Jean Charest in 2007. A victory, and then a referendum.

Who's angrier? Quebec federalists, especially those of the reform variety. In a scathing letter to La Presse, former provincial Liberal cabinet minister Claude Gauthier and that Ottawa federalist have only themselves to blame. Generations of Quebec federalists have tried to save Canada by trying to reform the Constitution, to no avail. Admittedly, they got around.

And what is there to talk about now? Top-separation threat, constitutional change, political reform. Canada's old games are requiring in their haste once more.



Brault (left) alleged that money went to the Liberal party; Chrétien tried to derail Gomery; Gagliano had a hard time remembering details

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'A TOTAL BREAKDOWN OF BOUNDARIES. IT'S ALMOST A PERFECT STORM.'

CANADIAN POLITICAL scandals have a long-held reputation for being both dull and petty, but the sponsorship affair might just change all that, says Andrew Stark, a professor of management and political science at the University of Toronto. A specialist in ethics and conflict of interest in public life, he also has some first-hand knowledge of what it's like in Ottawa when the bounds are not for blood—having spent four years as policy adviser to former prime minister Brian Mulroney.

Was Canada had more than its share of political scandal?

I don't think so, but we are particularly bad at handling them. The U.S. has scandals, but they have mechanisms to deal with them. There are independent ethics offices, the rules are long established. Here, it's only in the last year or so that we've even had conflict-of-interest rules for MPs, and we've never had an independent ethics office.

How does the sponsorship intrigue differ from the typical Canadian scandal?

In the garden variety case of graft, you have a private individual who makes a contribution to the governing party, then gets a public contract. The difference here is that the individuals seem to have misdeeds their contributions not only by digging into their wallets but by channeling public money to the party as well. You have party workers doing government work by handing out contracts, government ministers doing bureaucratic work by deciding where projects should go, bureaucrats telling companies whom to hire, and private businesses paying people to do party chores. It's a total



breakdown of all the moral, legal and institutional boundaries that we expect to see observed. It's almost a perfect storm.

Does that suggest the Canadian electorate is too trusting?

No, I don't think so. What undermines trust, more than the acts themselves, is when the public sees somebody avoiding responsibility. Martin keeps pointing out that he's launched the inquiry, that he's fired people and that he's personally offended, but those are the actions of somebody holding others accountable, not someone accepting responsibility. That's the type of behavior that causes people to become cynical.

Do you think the Mulroney government was better at accepting responsibility? He had a lot of cabinet resignations.

The acknowledgment that wrongs happened, or that trust was violated, was implicit—and occasionally explicit, in those resignations. Mulroney called his own resignation an inquiry into his own minister—Sundar Sen—on several occasions. We didn't have to wait for a subsequent administration.

If Mulroney was better at public criticism, he's paid a political price.

The reason the Mulroney government acquired the same it did I don't think had to do with the scandals or how it handled them. It had to do with ways in which the prime minister presented himself. He had a remarkable facade on how he was doing and he couldn't disguise it.

Do you think Liberals could suffer long-term consequences like the Tories did? By not stepping up to the plate in any meaningful way, I'd certainly say they deserve it.

Are there hot spots in Canada that are more prone to scandal than others?

I don't think so. But the Liberal's tend to blur the line between the personal interests of their party and the cause of federalism in Quebec. The lesson is not that we should go easy on the Liberals so we don't damage unity, but that another federalist force should be built up in that province so federalism isn't undermined when the Liberals are

Does not naturally set in when a government has been in power for a long time?

Essentially that's true. Until recently, we've had a one-party state—the government isn't usually likely to be shaken out. I've not seen any government in such circumstances wouldn't run into such problems.

But scandals have arisen in minorities as well. As a comparative matter, the record of the last 10 years has been particularly bad.

Can you match it up with another period in Canadian parliamentary history?

No. Nothing like the sponsorship scandal has ever occurred, and neither has anything like the steady stream of conflicts of interest questions that have engulfed even the prime ministers. I think this scandal comes close to a breakdown of institutional boundaries on a scale that resembles the worst kind of corruption you'd find in a developing country. —JONATHAN SARTORIS



War-weary and fractious, Lebanon dares to dream of unity, writes BENOIT AUBIN

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ones that are too basically corrupt."

Lebanon has not had a census since the early 1930s. But Maronites are known to be the majority, and Shi'as are the biggest group among them. The point is, too, and for many the scarier: "Christians are afraid of us because we are religious," Nabouli says. "But we could not impose Islamic rule here even if we tried. That'll never happen in Lebanon."

Washington calls Hizballah a terrorist organization, and demanded recently that its members turn in their weapons. "Come and get our guns," Sayed Hassan Nasrallah, the group's charismatic leader, shot back. An one European diplomat put it, "Hizballah has never fired a shot, and must be taken into consideration in view of any peaceful resolution." And Fokierie Daumert, a French journalist who just published a book about Hizballah, says "The situation could easily slip back into chaos, or else toward a solution, and Hizballah probably holds the key."

When other Lebanese marched to oust the Syrians, Hizballah organized its own mass showing—hundreds of thousands of men and women, marching separately—to support Syria. "That doesn't mean we're not good Lebanese," Nabouli says. "But Syria deserves some gratitude if they hadn't been here at the end of the civil war, there would be no Lebanon left to speak of. Everybody is denouncing Syria's occupation of Lebanon now, but where were they when Israel was controlling half of the country? We invited everyone to join in the fight, but nobody else showed up."

In Lebanon, you need to know who your friends are, and side with them. That's a big problem for some newcomers. "Why are I forced to choose between the opposition and the resistance?" asks Zaid Hamdan, a 28-year-old Druze Muslim who plays in a punk-rock band called Government. He's using code words. "Opposition" does not refer to parliament, but to what happened after Hama's death when Druze and Sunni politicians walked out of the coalition government to side with the Christian groups opposed to the Syrians. "Resistance" is Hizballah, and armed campaign against Israel and, by extension, the U.S. government's Middle East policy and American culture and globalization.

Loyalists are seen. Syria and Lebanon have always been close. For many Lebanese

Maronites, the two peoples are essentially the same. Christian Lebanese see a different picture, of course. It's all being exacerbated by the confused political picture. Since Hariri's death, the government has fallen, the prime minister has resigned, was reinstated, resigned again—and, last week, a new prime minister was named. Opposition forces have refused to join the new Syria to form a new government, while Hizballah has refused to join the opposition. An election is supposed to be held before the end of May, but there is no government left to prepare for it. And there are up to 50 different political parties, almost not all equally active.

So, how to build a new Lebanon? "First, eliminate the corruption," says Jo Faddoul, an economist and businessman. "Systematic corruption organized by the Syrian regime, and carried out by a Lebanese accomplice, cost Lebanon about US\$5 billion a year, half the national budget." Where does that

'THE problem is not with God, whichever God. The problem is with what bad men can do in the name of God.'

cost stand politically? "Nowhere," he says. "I am waiting for a national, secular, liberal party to emerge. Separating politics from religion is just as urgent."

Can it happen? Samir Farghali, a leading reformist intellectual, is optimistic. "Hariri's death has shattered the old political barriers. It has created a public opinion that is not confined to the old communal ghettoes. The situation has evolved very rapidly, and the politicians are now racing to catch up. They know they will have to be much more accountable—and to the whole population."

A sign of the new times in Lebanon, perched in her bed of pain, Mawardi Kanyuni is reading on the job. Her book? The Arabic translation of an essay on the Talmud by a Jewish scholar. It was Beirut, that's worth a double take. "It helps me realize that the problem is not with God, whichever God," the mother of two says. "The problem is with what bad men can do in the name of God." In Lebanon, that kind of wisdom could save lives, and perhaps even a whole country. □

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FREE TRADE OR EXTINCTION

Neanderthals were isolationists, and look what happened to them

NEXT TIME the guy next door goes off on a rant about how free trade is *ruining* the country and how Ottawa has to do more to protect Canadian jobs, you might want to gently remind him that protectionism and tariffs only lead to higher prices, inefficient industries and a lower standard of living. Or you could just call him a Neanderthal.

This approach may not win you many friends, but you'll have history on your side. A new study by economists at Michigan State University, Tilburg University in the Netherlands and the University of Wyoming suggests the Neanderthals may have died out 30,000

years ago in large part because they failed to embrace the principles of free trade. According to the researchers, Homo sapiens figured out how to divide labour and trade goods within and between regions, while the shorter, stronger Neanderthals lived in dispersed, isolated tribes. As a result, the brawny dragons gradually disappeared from the face of the earth and Homo sapiens went on to create the wonders of the world, such as luxury automobiles, reality TV and the double moosehead.

Granted, this is only one theory among many to explain the curious fate of our equid cousin. But the evidence provides some troubling food for thought—especially now, as we grapple with an increasingly hostile environment for cross-border commerce. Throughout the 19th century, the world's anti-globalization protests, trade disputes and politically motivated tariff walls were dogging the success of commerce. And now here at the site of protectionism more worrying than in that barren of free enterprise, the United States.

To say the Canada/U.S. trade partnership has hit a rocky patch is like saying Yellowstone can be chilly in January. From the vociferously unsupported ban on Canadian beef and the totally indefensible anti-dumping case against Canadian pulp producers, to the worsening softwood lumber dispute and Americans' constant agitation over agricultural subsidies, it's become obvious the Bush administration's enthusiasm for free enterprise is, shall we say... inconsistent.

Even the World Trade Organization's been able to patch the cracks in the world's

most extensive trade relationship. Created to arbitrate disputes and enforce international treaties, the WTO has repeatedly backed Canada when the softwood issue came before its panel. But when the U.S. and others choose not to play by the rules, there's not a thing anyone can do except retaliate. And somewhat disconcerting trade-allocation mechanisms are in place worldwide.

In May, Canada will slap a 15 per cent surtax on several U.S. imports in protest against the Bush administration's sometimes poor oversight that allows the U.S. government to distribute money from anti-dumping and other trade laws to American companies deemed to have been harmed by unfair trading practices. U.S. products such as cigarettes and engines will be most

severely becoming obvious. "We are a trading nation to the core, and cross-border exports account for about 27 per cent of this country's gross domestic product. Between 2001 and 2003, our imports fell by \$22.5 billion, or almost five per cent, due almost entirely to declining shipments south of the border. If not for rising energy prices, the decline would have been even worse. Some of this was due to a *reigning* and the economic slowdown in the U.S., but the collapse of lumber and beef sales, and the generally slower traffic at the border, made a bad situation worse."

While the United States and its main trading partners sink into a mire of punitive tariffs and retaliatory pique, nations elsewhere are tearing down the walls that separate their economies. China recently signed a major trade pact with Pakistan and has lost all the lines of trade with India. Free trade agreements with India. That means nations with a history of mutual distrust are moving toward a partnership that would link two of the world's fastest-growing economies and present a serious challenge to North America's global economic dominance.

All of which leaves Canada with a choice. Option one: we can finally forge new ties with the exploding economies of Asia and diversify our trade. Last week's tentative deal between Sri Lanka and Peru-China is a good step in the right direction. But given that only 0.3 per cent of Canada's exports went to China in 2003, compared to 75.7 per cent heading south, we've got a lot of ground to make up. No country will ever supplant the U.S. as our biggest trading partner, but we desperately need links with other nations to complement it.

Option two? To close our eyes to the changing world. That's the one the Neanderthals chose, and it didn't turn out so well.

Read Steve Marsh's blog, "All Business," at www.McGrawHill.com/BizBlog.



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FAREWELL, DEAR FATHER

Making a pilgrimage to say thank you

Among the pilgrims who descended on Rome for the funeral of Pope John Paul II was Father Raymond J. de Souza of Kingston, Ont. Father de Souza, who, as well as being chaplain of Newman House at Queen's University, is also a newspaper columnist, kept a diary of his stay in Rome for Maclean's. Excerpt:

SATURDAY, APRIL 2

I worried about how I would hear the news. That it was coming was not in doubt—the whole world knew that Pope John Paul II was in his final days, if not hours. An erroneous report from Rome of his death had reached me the day before, while I was doing a television interview with *Globe/National*. It was not how I wanted to hear of John Paul's death—through an earpiece from an anonymous producer, while sitting in a studio.

The real news came when I was driving to the Toronto airport from my home in Kingston. It came from one of my closest friends, a successful federal politician, whom I've known since we were both in our early twenties in Calgary. Over the years, John Paul had a major impact on both of us. And therein lay an important element of his legacy: it is not only what he brought on the world stage, but also in individual lives.

It's one thing for a priest to recognize that. But my politician friend was an equally powerful example, a worldly-wise man inspired by the Holy Father to work for the common good, for liberty at home and abroad, in defence of life and the family. On my way to catch my flight to Rome, I had already experienced the first blessing of an extraordinary week: the news came as it should have, from another soul who knew what it was to have been touched by John Paul.

I remembered the first time I met the Holy Father: July 26, 1995. As we were waiting for him to come down the line we had formed, I thought about a dozen different things I should say. But when he came to me, I could think of nothing. He looked at me, and I looked at him, and we were perfect. I would meet him another dozen or so times over the years, and it was always the same. As a man now—I had been preparing for this day for a long time, and written thousands of words in anticipation, but now I had nothing to say. "The fruit of silence is prayer," Mother Teresa was fond of saying, and it was time to pray.

EN ROUTE

The flight over was uneventful enough, save for the few people who approached me to say they had heard the news and were sorry I slipped over in London—all newspapers were tracking the Pope's



Cardinals at the tomb of Pope John Paul II in the Vatican facilities

death as if it were the death of a national head of state. It was my conviction that what I was heading toward might not just be a big event for me and the Church, but the whole world.

On the flight from Heathrow to Rome, I sat beside a well-dressed man reading *Pope John Paul II: The Biography*, published in 1995 by former New York Times correspondent and celebrated journalist Tad Szulc. The man was taking notes, and was likewise one of the 6,000 journalists descending on Rome. Szulc's book, riddled with factual errors and completely misreading John Paul, had provoked the Vatican into entrusting the interpretation of John Paul to another biographer, George Weigel. In his authoritative 1999 biography, *Witness to Hope*, John Paul had told Weigel of previous biographers: "They try to understand me from the outside, but I can only be understood from the inside."

Covering the Vatican is not easy, but editors routinely dispatch reporters to Rome who wouldn't know the difference between a

cardinal and a bishop. Imagine hockey being covered by people who don't know the difference between a defenceman and a forward. Five years in the Vatican press corps had taught me that lesson when and where. For the most part, though, the week unfolded remarkably well—the coverage was vast, respectful and better informed than usual. But occasionally there were indications that the media only see from the outside, not the inside. On the day that John Paul's last statement was released, an *NBC Nightly News* correspondent reported that the Pope left behind no property at all. In response, *NBC* anchorman Brian Williams commented, "Innocent no possessions, as John Lennon would say" but in its puerile nihilism, *Innocent* made against everything to which John Paul dedicated his life. From the outside, Lennon's "no possessions" and the Holy Father's extreme simplicity may have looked the same, but from the

inside they were as different as, well, night and day. Williams meant well, and had an outstanding week, but even a telling slip. My work this week would be to explain the bones, over and over again.

SUNDAY, APRIL 3

When priests travel, the first question they ask is, "Where am I going to offer Mass?" This can be a challenge when staying in hotels instead of religious houses, but it's the most important thing we do and it can't be skipped. So, after doing a few quick "hits" with Fox News, it was off to my former home (for five years) in Rome: the Pontifical North American College, where I was prepared for the priesthood. There, I celebrated Mass that evening, the Sunday in the Octave of Easter, or Divine Mercy Sunday.

In every Catholic Mass, the priest recites at one point the name of the pope and the local bishop. For the first time in my priest hood, there was no one to mention, as the bishop of Rome is, by

that very fact, the pope. *Sole vacante* is the Latin expression for this period: the Holy See is vacant.

Seen with liturgical eyes, the death of John Paul resonated deeply with those who knew his life. He died on the Octave of Easter, the most joyful eight days of the liturgical calendar. He died on the first Sunday of April, and five Sundays are liturgically dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, to whom John Paul was totally devoted. And it was Divine Mercy Sunday (liturgically Sunday feast begins the evening before, keeping the tradition of the Jewish Sabbath), a feast that John Paul himself created five years ago.

Central to John Paul's theological vision was the idea that the mercy of God was the only answer to the mystery of sin and evil. Divine mercy in some ways threw to John Paul's theology and pastoral practice. That he died on the feast of Divine Mercy was the final providential act in a providential life.

To call down the mercy of God is a good description of what goes on at every Mass—the center of every priest's day. Today, I, like hundreds of thousands of others, called down the mercy of God upon the world, as we always do, and upon the soul of John Paul II, which we did for the first time.

MONDAY, APRIL 4

It was a late night, having to file a column and not collapsing until about 2 a.m. Hoping to catch up on jet lag, I didn't set the alarm. But I woke at 6:30 a.m., my eyes on fire. They were swollen shut, red, and producing tears of pain. The slightest light produced excruciating pain. After about two hours, I decided to call for help—not in any task in my condition.

My friends in Rome, press and nuns, were in their chapels at morning Mass. Finally I reached Father Owen Keenan, a Toronto priest studying in Rome. He came over, made some calls, got me something to eat, and we set out for the doctor. He guided me through the chaotic streets, at one point, he had to leave me for a few minutes outside a building near St. Peter's. I waited in my clerical clothes and dark glasses, eyes streaming with tears. More than one passerby looked in my direction, impressed at the sorrow of this priest over the Holy Father's death.

There is a priestly sense of humor. Father Owen said I was like St. Paul, but in the shadow of St. Peter. I responded that I hoped the scales would soon fall from my eyes. Unlike St. Paul, my contemporary blindness was not caused by the radiance of the Risen Lord, but by television lights. Something had gone wrong with the filters the previous day, and several of us were suffering from something akin to sunburn of the eyes. Mine were affected worse than most, and for several days I had to wear sunglasses, even at night.

There are many scriptural passages about blindness, and sight recovered. I doubt I will end those passages, or preach about them, in the same way again. Eight hours of blindness is not very much. But it's enough to learn how precious is the gift of sight.

TUESDAY, APRIL 5

On Monday, the Pope's body was transferred to St. Peter's Basilica for its final rest. Large crowds were expected, as the Vatican announced that, except for three hours between 2 and 3 a.m., St. Peter's would be open all night. By morning, everyone realized that even those three hours might be needed because the crowds were immense. Over the 30 days of viewing, some 1.5 million people would pass through St. Peter's, waiting for an average of 13 hours, but with some later arrivals lining up for over 20 hours.

They were peaceful, even cheerful as they waited. And they were young. As an Italian cabinet minister told me: "They recognize a father in a world without fathers."

There was something, of course, about John Paul and the young. The late World Youth Day he attended was in Toronto in 2002. We were surprised then at how the young came to him. The plans for him to attend WYD 2005 in Germany this August died with him. But it was clear to me

that the young people he so loved were bringing his last WYD to him. On his deathbed, told that St. Peter's Square was filled with young people accompanying him in prayer, he repeated several times: "I have looked for you. Now you have come to me. And I thank you." He was grateful to us, and we to him. Indeed, while there was sadness in the air, it was gratitude that seemed to dominate. They—we—had come to say thank you to this marvelous pope, and to God for giving him to us.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6

After our stint for *Global News*, anchor Kevin Newman returned to our work area in the makeshift media centre and told us to clear off some space for me to work on my column for the *National Post*. As he swept all the notes and scripts for that day's news into the garbage, he smiled and said, "Father, it's a bit of an allegory for our business, but at the end of the day we sweep that day's history aside."

For a writer—who lives by the Word—there is something existentially awkward about television. With live TV in particular, moments after the word is spoken, it is gone. And despite the fact that we have TV "personality," they too seem somewhat fanned by the two dimensions in which they appear. All of which is of

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interest when assessing John Paul, the first truly TV pope, whose funeral may have been the largest television event in history. I would have thought John Paul had a writer's talent—the wrote poetry and plays in addition to his scholarly books and papal documents. But Blair Lorenson-Alvarez, national spiritual director of the Communion and Liberation movement in the United States, offered a different view. The John Paul, he argued, the most important form of communication was live theatre, because it was an encounter not only with the words but with the body of the other.

John Paul, who as a young man had trained in the theatre, believed that the whole person was engaged in the encounter, which made it truly human. Later in life, John Paul lived his pontificate most fully not in his teaching documents, but in the “live theatre” of his liturgy, his audiences and his travels. And the well-worn and upturned his body, I’ve said again with that ounce. Perhaps John Paul’s most important theological contribution is what is called the “theology of the body.” John Paul argued that the body is not something you use; it is, rather, an integral part of the person. The body makes the person present and in action; communicates the person to others. Pilgrimage is a form of communication of the body. That’s why John Paul went so far and wide on his travels, and why the millions come to Rome—to pay their respect in person. The viewing of the body, the living in time, the funeral process—all this care for the body was one last moment of theatre. Theatre not in illusion, but, to the contrary, theatre as the encounter of persons in the body.

Later in night President George W. Bush arrived in Rome, along with his father and another former president, Bill Clinton. They went straight to St. Peter’s, where they knelt in prayer before John Paul’s bier. It was an electric moment of shared prayer, of personal encounter, of fathers and grandfathers communicated in the most holy way possible. I was at the North American College when the President made his visit. The windows rained from the helicopters overhead. I remembered the night John Paul returned from his extraordinary visit to the Holy Land in March 2000. I heard his helicopter overhead and knew that he was home. It was the sound of history being made. So too was the ruffling of the windows at President Bush’s new order.

THURSDAY, APRIL 7

Today I went to St. Peter’s to pray before the body. There is a difference between hearing the news, seeing the video, and the personal encounter. There he was, soft and still, dressed as a priest about to be buried in Mass vestments, ready for the heavenly liturgy. Again,

as with all my other encounters with him before, there were no words that came to mind.

It is the rituals of dying that provide words when we can’t do so for ourselves. So I prayed what we always pray for the dead—that the angels might lead him into paradise, that the saints would welcome him at the Throne of Mercy, before the Lord he served so well, and His Blessed Mother, whom he loved so much. But then, confident that he was near already, I added something new—that he might help me read my own life as he was above all, a holy priest.

FRIDAY, APRIL 8

I had to get up early for the funeral, but many sets of thousands were out all night, sleeping in the streets around the Vatican, on the parks where big screens had already been set up to televise the proceedings

to those who would not be able to get near St. Peter’s Square.

History was not only John Paul’s life. But the history of Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, John Paul’s most vocal lieutenant for over 20 years, defied the focus on holiness. We had spent a week focusing, quite rightly, on what John Paul had done. Cardinal Ratzinger now spoke to us about what John Paul was—a fervent Christian disciple above all, a holy priest, a zealous bishop and a suffering, sanctifying pope. The crowd began a chant of “Sanctus” (“sanctified—holy—holy”), echoing Ratzinger’s remarks that John Paul’s greatest lay in his holiness, not in his historical impact. It became clear during the week that this pope would be remembered as John Paul the Great for his role in history that the people rediscovered a more important title: Saint John Paul.

The presence of Ratzinger, widely touted to be a serious candidate to succeed John Paul, was

also remarkable, but not because he presided over the funeral. That the Church, for the past 20 years, should have been led by a Pole with a German at his side is something truly incredible, given the difficult history of those countries. And now another bit of history, made possible by the holiness of the man being buried, and the man burying him.

The final funeral came when John Paul’s simple wooden casket was carried to face the people one last time before being taken into the basilica. It was almost painful in its beauty: the bell tolling, the vast crowd applauding, cheering, crying, and the great mass of German candles opened under the canopy for the last time to the one who had appeared 26 years ago on the balcony above, heralding a new springtime for the Gospel. It was the death of the highest sort, the personal encounter that is not an escape from reality, but reality read as a transcendence. And then he was gone.

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OUR MAN IN ROME

A Canadian pope? It may be a long shot, but...

HE COULD end up being a pope who can't afford a diploma from a backslider. When not playing hockey, as a young man Marc Ouellet was also head of hunting among his parents' farm in La Motte, in northwestern Quebec. And yes, he once had a girlfriend, but it was "not serious," he said in a recent interview. Such trivia about the archbishop of Quebec City is surfacing now that John L. Allen Jr., a respected Vatican columnist on a short list of 20 papabile ("papables"), plausible candidates to succeed Pope John Paul II when the cardinal pope begins this Monday. Cardinal Ouellet is the only man from Canada and the United States on that list, which was published in a recent column in the U.S. magazine *National Catholic Register*.

Only, he's a long shot, as is Jean Claude Cardinal Tardieu, archbishop of Montreal, whose name is also being floated. But among his qualifications for the job is the fact that Ouellet is a superb intellectual who has carried a doctorate in dogmatic theology; that he has mastered five languages, and has taught in seminaries in South America as well as in Canada. At the age of 60, he is also among the youngest prospects on Alfaro's list, but he's got a high-profile career in such Vatican-powered positions as the Pontifical Council for the Promotion of Christian Unity and the Pontifical Academy of Theology—while being an adviser to the Pontifical Commission for Latin America.

You'd think that Quebecers, usually so cranky to miss the funeral and the feast of the



The cardinal has been accused of being the mouthpiece of the most conservative fringe

But, no, not really. Guillel has come under steady criticism from his flock in the province since he was appointed archbishop on November 2002. "He has supporters, but he does not create unanimity," says Gilles Rueland, a theology professor at Université Laval. "His positions have triggered heated debates in the media. Even polemics

OUELLET is the hard-office man preaching John Paul II's love-it-or-leave-it orthodoxy in Quebec.

cartoonists have lampooned him, something we hadn't seen since, perhaps, the heyday of the liberal, anti-clerical press in the mid 19th century." And that, explains André-Philippe Côté, one such cartoonist at Québec City's *Le Soleil* newspaper, is because "he symbolizes the return of an old-fashioned vision of the Church, one we'd forgotten here for at least 50 years."

Queller recently came under scathing criticism from a group of Catholic intellectuals, who said, "we will not let Queller

Catholicism he hijacked by fundamentalism," and accused him of "becoming the mouthpiece for the most conservative things among local Catholics." In that distributive, published in Montreal's *Le Devoir* newspaper, the group also lists respects Quétier's vision of the Church "wholly dissociated with the routinized platform of the Comité vénéral, Pirey of Canada and the most inflexible factions of the American religious right." So, Mario Vellin, who penned the attack, "Quétier came in on a collision course with the direction the Church in Québec had been following for decades now."

Among other things, the archbishop has rekindled disputes they cannot resolve. Communion. He abolished "collective intinction," a popular practice, and reintroduced private confessions to a priest. In Quebec, he has led the fight against same-sex marriage, as well as the lobby to maintain denominational Catholic and Protestant school boards in the province.

Ever since Quebecers, en masse, turned their backs on the Church in the late 1960s, bishops in the province have taken a less openly papalistic approach to their religion, allowing practices and prayers they hoped would fly under the Vatican's radar. Ouellet is the man head office has sent to preach John Paul's tough-love, love-it-or-leave-it orthodoxy. And that may be what's being a papalistic all about.

† Available as of 2007-2008. 2007-2008: updated figures, and 2007-2008: not an international reference year.

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ISN'T IT IRONIC?

Alanis Morissette, once the poster girl for angry young chicks, is defanging her songs for Starbucks

TEN YEARS AGO, Alanis Morissette arrived on the music scene (for the second time) with serious rocker hair, a raspy voice and bitter lyrics about sex and sex. This year, that anniversary can be celebrated by anyone waiting in line to buy a Starbucks biscuit and cappuccino. With the announcement that the Ottawa native is going to release an acoustic version of *Jagged Little Pill* and sell it exclusively in the coffee chain for six weeks starting

on June 12 (it'll hit regular record stores on July 26), long-time *Alanis* haters are rejoicing. This means more—namely her only acoustic, edgy album into a dead sound track for yuppie—may prove to be the final nail in the low-crack-bility coffin. Certainly,

it's already caused traditional record stores readers to turn on her. Morissette has never made any bones about being a mainstream, commercial artist, but this scenario smacks more of desperation than selling out. Each of the

three albums she's released since jagged *Pill* has sold substantially fewer copies than the previous one. While many artists have found themselves in this position, rarely do they re-record their biggest hit album. Moris is explained her reasoning in *Pill* board magazine: "Turning 30 has really inspired me to have a retrospective of my life and honour it. I've breezed through every other passage from menstruation to buying my first house to making money to moving to a different country."

But hasn't Alanis honored her every hiccup—directed every life passage—in song? Is the reason to go back at least partly because she's out of new things to say, new things to be?

For all of her pervenously addictive singles over the last decade, Morissette's self-reinventions have grown increasingly meagre. And each one has resulted in her acquiring a new one-dimensional label (pop princess, angry chick, optimal ditz)—all of which really tick her off. But she's made herself such an easy target.

Consider her reinventions: In the 1980s, Morissette is a successful child actress/Virgin, with a role on the Canadian show *Les Ciel*

Murder, who's employed in the past 10 years from wildly dressed, angry, pseudo-bohemian back to shorn and serious personal-growth intellectual, has never made any bones about being a commercial artist. But this scenario smacks more of desperation than selling out.

Do *Two On Television*, an appearance on *Star Search* and a stopover for Vanilla Ice. Then, in 1991, the perky, moderately successful 15-year-old releases her debut, the disco-dance album *Alanis*, just months before a disgruntled generation finds its voice in the howling guitars and angst-ridden lyrics of Nirvana's *Nevermind*. Morissette's second teen-popper album, on the following year, makes little impact. The singer falls off the radar, but not before scoring a romance with Uncle Joey (a.k.a. Dave Coulier) from *Pill* *Melrose*.

She comes in 1995, in angry pseudo-feminist babe in leather pants and a jeans shirt, to capitalize on the tail end of grunge, selling 3.6 million copies of *Jagged Little Pill* (a U.S. record-setting "debut" for a female artist). The album coincides with some key demographics: mostly 12-year-old girls hungry for their first rotten boyfriend. But a number of guys are also intrigued by Morissette, who calls herself "pervasive" in *New Ogilvie Know*. And there was something refreshing about the 20-year-old's depi-

and vocabulary (concerning her misunderstanding of the word "ironic").

But the artists of who's real and who's not cry phony—pointing to the singer's not-so-distasteful mix of penis, spiders and bubble gum. Morissette and fans say the year grew up. (Last April Lavigne will say the same about her transformation from New Country to skate punk.) And fair enough, we all

DESPITE all those pervenously addictive singles, Morissette's self-reinventions have grown increasingly tiresome

graduated from *White* to *Strawberry Pimples* seemingly overnight. The problem is, from here on out, Morissette becomes a personal growth exhibitionist.

After the frenzy of *Jagged Little Pill*, the 14-month world tour and her first four Grammys, the Ottawa from home, goes to

India and comes back to write an album full of daily affirmations. *Supposed Former Believers' Jubilee* (1998)—and rumors around made in the video for *Thank U* Archa point her hair is still long, but she's more hippie than headbanger. And she gives off a hard-core vibe—forgetting past boyfriends, defying her mother and distancing herself from all that anger—a result of her recent spiritual journey. People in their 20s often have an inflated idea of the experience of their thoughts and perspective—and as Morissette's would, every journal entry can be a lie song.

"Alanis was an angry failed teen pop star who came to LA, had some sexual experience, and all the rage came out in a record," says Bob Lefsetz, author of the 1995 rock music industry *o-zine* *The Leftist Letter*. "And *Jagged Little Pill* is a brilliant record. Then she got freaked out by the fame—no anybody would. It would have been cool if she gave up forever. Instead, you get into a video and try to love everybody. Are we supposed to buy that you sold 3.6 million

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When Morissey wrote the band's previous best-selling pop song, "Mezzanine," he wrote about what's real and what's not, unable to forget his pop past, often playing

records and all of a sudden you have some great insight that we don't have! She looked kind of like and she completely lost touch."

With the luck that in fall after, Morissey produced her next record, *Under the Sun*, on her own. While she impressively comes up with one groove after another, Clean, she's so strong as anything her early collaboration producer Glen Ballard could provide, there's no one else in the studio to keep her lyrical indulgence in check. By now Morissey is completely immersed in her unique form of poetic horror, weaving phrases and overloading on syllables. And she seems to be convinced that the expression of inner growth equals artistic growth. The one-time poster girl for female aggression starts admitting in an interview she'd like to write a self-help book.

Writing this hard as business, Morissey was bound to finally find herself. And last year, with the release of *So Called Chaos*, the latest version of the "real" Morissey is unveiled. Newly born, she no longer hides behind her hair. Newly engaged, she

considers herself a feminist who can write love songs. And now in "shadowbox," she's on a path to wholeness—accepting both her strength and her weaknesses. In the song *Everything*, she calls it all an ashake yet mine, with holding and kind, moody and brave, funny and dull. Her direction might also add, bend and oblige.

This year, she plans to announce her family side. She's co-writing a documentary TV show for Comedy Central in which she'll lampoon celebrity, herself and others' preconceived notions of who she is. But even this is part of a bigger self-improvement plan. "I feel like I've always been inseparable," she said one while discussing the new TV show rather this year. "This is just the next step in my evolution of sharing."

But first, with Morissey's upcoming *Jagged Little Pill*, we're supposed to go back to the beginning—one hand in our pocket, the other one holding our \$15. Maybe a few million of those large dragging cash-laziness will begin in, but the song's on the wall—today's Starbucks, tomorrow's Vegas.

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GOING TO EXTREMES

The camera is now a performance-enhancing drug

TIMOTHY TREADWELL is a 46-year-old blond American with a Prince Valiant haircut who looks like a cross between Jeff Daniels in *Dumb and Dumber* and Owen Wilson in *Stuck on You*. And he's starring in the story of his own death. In October 2003, Treadwell, along with his girlfriend, Anna Hagmann, was killed and eaten by a grizzly bear there—after 13 summers of trying to get up close and personal with bears in the wilds of Alaska. Treadwell shot more than 100 hours of video—not just of grizzlies, but of himself, obsessively taping take after take of stand-up eulogies, as if he were hearing his own gothic reality show. Treating the camera as his confessor, he'd deliver manic monologues from trees to grizzlies. Finally, just days before dying he says, "Every second of every day

In Barbara Sepp's *Bearing Witness*, five female journalists tell harrowing stories of surviving combat zones. In *Gyeneszt*, a sobbing teenage girl undergoes surgery to plant a titanium rod in her shin so she'll fit to compete in the Olympics. In *Manderbail*, quadriplegics carry on a bitter Canada-U.S. feud with full-contact wheelchair rugby. Taking "documentary" suspense to absurd extremes, *Egglebrik* counts down the days as a transgender prepares for a competition in Qeqta, Oct. 11 hitting theaters outside Hot Docs, meanwhile, *The Year of the Fox* turns the NBA saga of a seven-foot, five-inch Chinese rookie squaring off against Shaquille O'Neal into documentary table. And *Ganwer Palace*, which has U.S. soldiers in Iraq mopping to the camera, plays like a live reality show—Survivor Baghdad.

EVERYTHING
becomes a showbiz
opportunity—from
dodging grenades in Iraq
to being eaten alive

Documentaries do seem to be absorbing the ethic of reality TV. Everything becomes a contest, and a showbiz opportunity—from dodging nuclear-propelled grenades to being eaten alive. In fact, the word "documentary" just doesn't cut it any more. In these films, the camera isn't documenting but working on its subjects like a performance-enhancing drug.

Sports documentaries tend to play out as messy sides, with clear-cut heroes and villains. Take *Manderbail*, a fierce *Mad Max* spectacle of quadriplegic quadriplegics wheeling into each other in a wheel-chair wheelie. The winner is Joe Soares, a vege-tarian bearded hottie who defies to coach the Canadian team after being out from the U.S. squad. This



Clockwise from above: Ganwer Palace; Manderbail; Gyeneszt; Treadwell and Hagmann; and Grizzly Man



guy's even cruel to his 12-year-old son. So is a Canadian you end up rooting for the Americans and their basketball, *Mark Zupan*. *The Year of the Fox*, charting the Ming's rise from a soccer team to NBA, claims another mythic feud. With a roster of 1.3 billion looking up to him, Chen's gentle giant is ill-matched and graceless against the bellicose Shaq. In contrast to such cultural stereotypes as Muhammad Ali's fight with George Foreman, that the story's told through the eyes of Ali's nervous U.S. trans-

lator, Colin Pine, who doubles as narrator—confusing the film's perspective until it goes lost in the dissonance of his celebrity. It's hard to find a documentary subject who doesn't perform for the camera—even the Muslim owner who walked through the "Bar garbage bags of people" taken from the guts of Grizzly Man's killer bear. He reassures the viewer that moments in such dramatic detail aren't as if he's auditioning to play a cowboy. And in *Gyeneszt*, teenage Olympians who are nailed by the pressure

of a temporary glow with confidence under the therapeutic gaze of the camera. But what's truly bizarre is to see soldiers in Iraq moping soundless as semi-sensitized music. *The Vietnam War* didn't acquire a bad reputation in the public imagination until it was over—a movie like *Apocalypse Now* and *Platoon* just a psychedelic spin on the delirium of fighting an enemy you couldn't see for a cause you couldn't defend. With Iraq, it's all happening much faster. *Ganwer Palace* shows the soldiers acting as if they're already

in a war movie, and they're improving their own score, a kind of G.I. gangster rap fed with raw fear. With *Gyeneszt* style braids, the camera follows a squad of U.S. soldiers as they break down the door of an Iraqi home in the middle of the night, and handcuff a suspect before terrified women and children knock at their base, a bombed-out palace in Baghdad once owned by Saddam Hussein's son. Today, soldiers dance by the pool to My God. One young woman spends nights playing electric guitar in the palace ruins. Another soldier unchains a freestyle rap while his buddy pounds out the rhythm with his face on the hood of an armored Humvee. But when these two start kissing and our friends get hit? Their "where our hearts start racing and our stomachs get woozy! Out for fall this is just a dose, but we live in this movie."

Just as real-life gangsters would mimic *The Godfather*'s fictional mobsters, soldiers take their cues from the movies. "The colonel at the pool party went as Abuja that sexy his wife," says co-director Michael Tucker. "He's living in M*A*S*H." For the teenagers, it's *Jackson Goes to 'Nir*. "Tucker recalls asking to go out with a girl one day and being told, 'You don't want to go out with them, they've watched *Platoon* too many times.'"

Ganwer Palace is a reality show with no escape. "Survive this," says the narrator, "a year in Baghdad without changing the channel." It's been attacked by the left as a recruiting ad and by the right as an anti-war movie. That's because it succeeds in revealing the soldiers, who know only chaos. Most are kids fresh from high school who enlisted because they had no future. Now they're missing targets in a lethal arcade, afraid their deaths could pass unnoticed as the war slips from the headlines.

One of the strongest films in *Hot Docs* is about the people who try to keep that from happening. *Bearing Witness* takes us behind the scenes with five nonprofit women who cover combat—including American photographer Molly Bingham, who spent eight frightening days in Saddam's Abu Ghraib prison, and Marie Colvin, a *Sunday Times* correspondent who was blinded in one eye by a grenade in Sri Lanka. As journalists about journalists, *Bearing Witness* achieves a three-dimensional veracity. And because these battle-scarred survivors have forged powerful careers behind the eye of the camera, they're under no illusions that they're living in a movie. **F**



LOVE IN THE TIME OF BOTOX

Increasingly, couples are getting altered for the altar

BEFORE discovering Botox, Marc Ray's best defence against his hyperactive sweat glands was those underarms. They worked to a point, but after the public relations consultant got engaged, he was prepared to take bolder measures—pudgy because he didn't want the added bulk under his wedding suit. "A friend told me he'd had Botox injections in his forehead to stop excessive sweating and thought it might help me," says Ray, 36, who paid \$1,000 for injections in his temples about four weeks before getting hitched in Montreal last May. "My skin was very dry quite a while afterwards. And at my wedding I danced all night without any worries."

Botox, mainly for smoothing out wrinkles, is one of many treatments from the realm of cosmetic enhancement—including breast implants, liposuction, lip augmentation, rhinoplasty and eyelid lifts—being added to an increasing number of couples' pre-wedding-to-do lists. There are two hard-

numbers, but anecdotal evidence suggests more and more people, hoping to be picture-perfect on their big day, are resorting to what were once considered extreme measures. In Las Vegas—where elopé-Botox bachelorette parties are not uncommon—

"WE'RE doing tons of tummy tucks and breast work on those heading into a second marriage," says one surgeon.

Dr. Jean Carrothers, a cosmetic surgeon in Vancouver, says weddings are often a catalyst for people who'd already been thinking about doing something. Most clients opt for Botox or other injections to temporarily get rid of worry lines. "A bride doesn't want to look ugly in her wedding photos,"

Cosmetic enhancement procedures are an more and more couples' pre-wedding-to-do lists

says Carrothers. "And it's not only brides. Last week I had a mother of a bride come in, joking that she wanted to look better than the mother of the groom."

Determined to be the most gorgeous of grooms for their wedding last December, Toronto-based soccer manager Bob Berthick and Greg McInnis opted for Botox injections to smooth out worry lines on their 33-year-old foreheads and eyes (McInnis also had Restylane injections to eliminate frown lines around his mouth). "We're young, but many people start getting wrinkles in their early 30s," says McInnis, whose eyelids will be framed this spring on Globe's new reality series, *My Fabulous Gay Wedding*. "Grooms spend thousands on their gowns, so what's wrong with doing this?"

Many clients going for pre-wedding facelifts are older marrieds, some of them exchanging vows for the second or third time. "We're doing tons of tummy tucks and breast work on those heading into a second marriage," says Dr. Marc DuPé, a Toronto cosmetic plastic surgeon for whom pre-wedding treatments amount to five per cent of his business (in fact, he's attended the weddings of those duos). "I call it the puppy-mommy procedure, since many in this group have already had kids." One of DuPé's patients, a 39-year-old woman from suburban Toronto who requested anonymity, got married for the second time last July in Europe. But not before getting a breast lift, a tummy tuck, liposuction on her thighs and lip injections. "During honeymoon, a Mediterranean cruise, I put on the wedding bikini I could find," boasts the mother of two sons in their mid-30s. "It was well worth the little bit of pain after surgery and every penny it cost."

Plastic surgery has long been a wedding guest at weddings—it's not uncommon for modern brides to have a makeup artist and hairstylist on the big day. But thanks in large part to the dew of cosmetic surgery reality TV shown in recent years, plastic surgery now has a glow at the altar. "Watch *The Swan* way too much," says Berthick, offering to the Fox version which contestants are completely altered by cosmetic surgery. "Whether these shows send the right or wrong message, the thing is that people don't bother about themselves after getting the work done." Till death do us part—or, at least, till the Botox runs out. **B**

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Sports | BY BRIAN BETHUNE

WHAT A SENIOR MOMENT

Canuck marathon man, 74, smokes his rival, 71

MORE THAN 50 years after Jimmy Whitlock swept smoothly to victory in the Rotterdam Marathon, in an impressive time of 2:07:50, the cold and rain of an April day by the North Sea have scattered his welcoming party. The city's smiling mayor, burgemeester Joop Opsteren, has been greeting runners to the top three finishers—Kergans to a man—in nowhere to be seen. Not are the jangling photographers who fought to capture the final sprint. Now the hail, the lane, the crumpled over with dry leaves or diarrhea, and the just plain also ran, vanguard across the finish line. Then, as the clock ticks down to three hours—the cut-off point for serious marathoners—Ed Whitlock hoves into view.

At 2:58:40, Canada's unofficial star with legs—all five feet, seven inches and 112 lb of him—crosses the line, sporting his iconic running shoes, shock of white hair and a huge grin. Whitlock, 74, from the Town of Smiths Falls, is the only man over 70 ever to have broken the three-hour mark. Now he's done it again, for the third time, in the most prestigious race he's ever run. What's more, he's cranked his only serious rival for the over-70 crown, Rotterdam hometown hero Joop Kergans, 71, who arrives 14 minutes later. Backcrossed burgemeester Opsteren, with a frank bunch of flowers, along with an entire Dutch TV crew and several photographers.

Whitlock is a star entry in one of the world's Top 50 marathons—in another first for over-70 runners, organizers paid his way to Rotterdam and reserved another starting position for him ahead of the 11,000 ordinary racers. When he finishes, the PR system goes back into operation, tracking Whitlock's age and time. "I'm still



Whitlock is the only senior marathoner to have finished marathon in less than three hours

running—it was a tough last leg," a disconcertingly relaxed Whitlock tells the media. "I left Joop after about four miles. Then I spent much of the time in a large crowd, try-

'IT WOULD have been a disgrace,' says Whitlock, 'if I had lost to Joop. I'm the one with the record time.'

ing to hide from the wind, I'm a bit of a parasite that way. It was sitting for 2:57, so I lost a minute somewhere," he concludes, a flicker of displeasure momentarily dimming his smile. "But a good result anyway." And not one Whitlock could ever have

predicted when he emigrated to Canada from his native England in 1953, part of an almost forgotten cadre of British draft dodgers who wanted to avoid a two-year National Service stint. He was a good, but not world-class, middle-distance runner in the days of Roger Bannister's *Marathon Mile*. He owned a busy running equipment and fashions store in two sons (both now runners), he abandoned computer and his 40s. Twenty years later he moved into long distances.

Whitlock takes no supplement or vitamins, refuses to stretch before races, trains by running in circles around a local cemetery after a breakfast of tea and bread, and hasn't had a regular physical in 30 years.

So that has start in marathon life—which presumably has limited the wear and tear on his body—wasn't his best explanation for his success. Whitlock's loving reason for it, though, "I've been a serious runner my whole life." He will allow for the lack of good genes—his mother died at 91, and an uncle recently passed away at 108. The real answer likely has more to do with his mind. Hours after the marathon, Whitlock declares, "It would have been a disgrace if I had lost to Joop. I'm the one with the record time, it's the one who should be celebrated by it. Obviously I have a competitive streak, but I'd have been very upset if I felt people had any reason to think I hadn't run well."

As for the future, there's the anticipated rematch with Kergans at September's Toronto Waterfront Marathon. Shrug off age and possible injury, Whitlock's next will take place. "Joop said he'd come, and so did I. Besides, I said I'd take him to Niagara Falls." ■

ON THE WEB For more photos documenting Ed Whitlock's remarkable performance at the Rotterdam Marathon, visit www.marathon.ca/gallery

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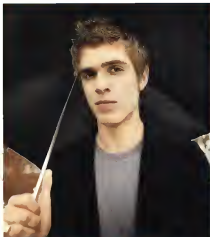
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Music | Kyle Riabko's looking for a life beyond training bras

The 17-year-old will enter his high school graduation in 2009 his debut CD

No matter how closely you listen to Kyle Riabko's debut album, before I speak, you'll never guess he was heavily influenced by *Thriller*. "He was the guy who introduced me to music and rhythm," says Riabko, referring to the children's entertainer. "I'm never shaken, but when I met him at the Junior last year, I was blown away."

An appreciation of Prince and Jack-o'-Lantern's *Thriller* is a good thing. Riabko's music is a blend of pop, funk, and blues, with a lot of energy and a strong sense of rhythm.

which has an unexpected meaning for a Grade 12 student. Riabko, 17, will miss his high school graduation in June because of touring. "My greatest education came when turning my first band, at 16," he says. "That's when I realized how great it was to make music and that girls really liked it." That hasn't changed. "It's funny, but a lot of girls just came to shows to see me or they'd be like, 'I like you, but I like you more.'"

I can't find writing's song until I'm home in my room. That's where I recorded a good portion of this CD, using only a guitar and my computer. The record has a good vibe. -Riabko

Film | Daniel's day in the sun

We last saw Daniel Bay-Lewis as Bill the Butcher, the blood-pumping tycoon in *Danger in New York*. Three years later the influence of that role can be seen on the cutting edge of Asian martial arts. *Kung Fu Wazuki*, from Hong Kong filmmaker/star Stephen Chow, features a lookably choreographed street fight involving blade-wielding warriors in black top hats, who could be comic Chinese versions of *John* (outbreak) Yenkees. Chow's slapstick approach, styled like an old-time musical, reminds us that violent, head-banging violence can still be huge fun. But for the latest inspiration



of Bay-Lewis's intensity, check out *The Devil of Jack* (Cassidy Bell). Jack, whose heart is failing, writes a letter (Catherine Keener) and her two doctor sons to move in—a shock to Rose, who wants dad all to herself. With its moral ambiguity, and undertone of incest, this period odd film like a Canadian movie. And Bay-Lewis' performance of the career. -DAN O'DONOGHUE



ROGERS
Your World Right Now

TV Grooms take the money and run

JULIANNE F. GROOMS
CIBC, APRIL 26, 9 A.M.

If American divorcees don't get a bad enough rap in the Western world, here's a little more to fuel the negative book not only outdated, but overdone. Right now an enormous number of ladies writers are interested in how it was—how the victims of fraud at the hands of the husbands they were outgrew with.

Julianne Grooms shows how some Italian men living in Canada will share homes and connect with in-the-60s Italian women, with the help of a matchmaker. The doc focuses on two women, Maria Jole and Sofia Ruffa, who married men from Toronto and Vancouver respectively. Both men took the money and ran, and then obtained gender divorces in Canada—freeing themselves up to do it all over again. The women, on the other hand, have little hope of re-marrying and have had to do whatever to find or provide the men who took their families' small fortunes. Not exactly a happy Hollywood ending. —**SHARON BUCKLE**



Music | Composer of unhummmable tunes

When Brian Current tells people he composes music for symphony orchestras, many ask if he wrote movie scores. "It's a great tradition," he says. "But you're essentially composing background music." His pieces, which have been described as mad and restless, are for engaged listeners. "There's not a lot of melodies in my music that you walk away singing," he says.

The Toronto resident has written for orchestras all over the world and won re-

nown awards, most recently a prestigious Guggenheim Fellowship, worth approximately \$55,000. Although only 32, Current was no child prodigy. Growing up in Ottawa, he played in rock bands and listened. He only discovered symphony composition as an undergrad at McGill, and even now the work doesn't come easy. "It's a struggle to write the pieces," he says. "We realize how many of them you do, each one a beautiful text, a beautiful book." —**S.B.**

MACLEAN'S 100 | TOP 10

Historian Peter C. Kent on the all-time most influential popes

University of New Brunswick history professor Peter C. Kent, author of *The Pope and the Pope (1980)* and organizer of the 2000 International Symposium on Vatican Diplomacy, compiled a chronological list of the 26 popes he regards as having had the greatest impact on the Roman Catholic Church.

Pope Leo I (440-461) established papal supremacy over bishops, helped save western Rome from barbarians.

Pope Gregory I (590-604) led back to medieval Catholicism, and extended Church boundaries by sending out missionaries.

Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) defended liberty of Church against power of the state, opposed investiture of bishops by lay rulers.



Pope Urban II (1088-1099) first pope of the Crusades to make world Catholic.

Pope Innocent III (1216-1254) Most powerful pope ever. Established Dominican and Franciscan orders to challenge heretics.

Pope Gregory IX (1227-43) introduced the Inquisition, brought Aristotelianism into the Church.

Pope Julius II (1503-61) warrior pope re-established papal control over Papal States after Avignon papacy.

Pope Pius II (1458-1464) investigated reform through Council of Trent after challenge of Protestant Reformation.

Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) set Church against ideas emerging from French Revolution, patronized the First Vatican Council (1869) to define Catholic doctrine.

Pope John XXIII (1963-63) led the Second Vatican Council in 1962 and set Church on new direction, open to the world and less centralized and hierarchical.

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Colm Feore finishes John Intini's sentences

When Colm Feore isn't performing as Cassius in the most mind-blowing production of *Julius Caesar* (starring *Benson* Washington), and running until June 17), he's roaming the New York City streets with his 1946 Leica IIIc camera—an opening night gift from his wife, the 46-year-old St. Catharines, Ont.-based therapist and photographer. He'd recently finished *Masterpiece's* Associate Editor John Intini's sentences.

ON THE HIGH SCHOOL FOOTBALL FIELD: I WAS a freshman and always secretly dreamed I was a father figure to my coaches' thoughts, never being just one of the middle management players. NEAR MY NEW YORK APARTMENT: It is the most peculiar shop, which sells

antiques and cheese—all old things. I COLLECT cameras. I have about 20. I recently bought a Polaroid Shot, the type Andy Warhol once used. Built over and over for it. It cost \$5. I wanted to pay \$5, but I'd been in the shop alone for 150 hours and figured the owner could use the extra couple of bucks. I TOOK MY LAST MEAL TO BE a warm grilled scallop salad, halibut, a lot of vermouth, pineapple with a pomegranate reduction and a fine selection of cheeses. FRESH FRUIT and a block of chocolate. YOU'LL NEVER CATCH ME MEASURING anything. Let me just say, *Plaine Trudelle's* wardrobe was again.

FOR MORE "JOHN INTINI'S SENTENCES" VISIT WWW.MACLEAN.COM/PEOPLE

Books | Cry the beloved country

Canadian journalist *Archer House* escaped Afghanistan with her family in 1981, when she was 15. She was the only Afghani in New Brunswick. She lived unassessably to go back twice in the next 11 years, once to find her close friend, Sybil, with whom she'd been corresponding. And later to shoot the first feature film *Kandahar*, in which she stars, and which is based on her quest to reconnect with Sybil. (At the time, the heroine looks for her sister.) A Best of Best Features in *Search of My Afghanistan* has a review of *House's* life in her home country, which turned painful when Communists took control. Keep in mind her physician father, and her brother involved in the local chaos. The book chronicles the family's escape, and later the author's return to Kabul in 2002, when she learned Sybil's fate.



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THE PROBLEM WITH HARPER

He needs to show some interest in the country he wants to govern

LUNCHTIME ON A WEEKDAY in Montreal. I stood at the corner of Peel and St. Catherine, wondering where to eat. Within two minutes I ran into a prominent Conservative and a prominent Liberal. Both were dressed like a million bucks—in Montreal, after all. Both had slippers on the bus.

The Liberal was nervous. No surprise. But the Tory was nervous, too. There's a lesson there for Stephen Harper, if he wants it: "We can't run on ethics and honesty," the Tory said. "We did that last time. It worked

great—for 2½ weeks."

Indeed it did. Halfway into the 2004 campaign, Harper's newly named Conservative party was well ahead of the Liberals. Harper allowed himself to speculate about winning a majority Conservative government. And pretty much on cue, his lead evaporated.

This time it might not. Two people are arguing at the Liberals. They may be having a harder time pinning Paul Martin to a bold leader. Harper may simply fall into the job. But just to be on the safe side, that's not how he should bet it.

Why did Harper fall in the polls after he peddled last spring? Two reasons, I think. Some people decided they didn't know enough about how Harper would govern. They weren't sure he was ready. Call them voters. The Unconvinced. Others believed they knew exactly how he would govern and they didn't like it one bit. Call them The Terrified.

Paul Martin's strategy was to peel the second group away from Harper. He said the Conservatives would tear up the Charter of Rights and transform Canada into a theocracy. It worked pretty well, so Martin's going to do it again. He will cross-cross the country during a blizzard in his face and shouting "Boo."

What makes sense is why so much of Stephen Harper's strategy has also been focused on The Terrified. They must be the hardest-core group in Canada for Tories to woo. Don't be really think that it's vague



enough on the Iraq war, people who opposed it will decide he was on their side? If he argues enough former Reform MPs, will the Liberals stop saying he's scary?

Nope. So if Harper can't stop the Liberals from ascribing The Terrified, that leaves The Unconvinced. They, too, were ready to vote Conservative in 2004 before they turned away. Why?

They must have been paying attention. Harper ran the last campaign like a high-school science experiment, low-budget, low-scale, low-definition. He was the ethics and no-gun guy, which is great if you want to run the National Citizens' Coalition but a bit thin if you want to run a G-S country. A prime minister needs a transport policy and an environment policy and some ideas about what to do with the CBC, or the First Nations. He needs people in his entourage who look ready to take over those files. He needs to show some interest in the country he wants

to govern, its history and its people.

Last year Harper acted like a guy who couldn't bother. He'd show up somewhere and seemed no knowledge, nor any particular interest, in national or local issues. He'd stand beside a candidate—sometimes even mention the guy's name—but rarely explain why Ottawa needed him, except to displace some random Liberal.

In the first week of the campaign I followed Harper out to St. John's. He staged a comically grudging photo op about Liberal corruption (pointing to an enormous fake cheque: "This is only a symbol") and then, two hours later, delivered a major announcement on equalization in front of a lunchtime business crowd.

Harper was promising less money for Newfoundland and Labrador. The press said Paul Martin to make a competing promise of his own, which led to the fake recent deal with Danny Williams. But it's a complex issue. Sometimes you need to take a couple of hours walking a placeload full of reporters through a complex issue. Instead, Harper waved that massive on the fake corruption cheque. When we looked around for somebody in his entourage who could possibly explain equalization to us, there was nobody seriously qualified. We finally had to pull Harper aside that night and ask for a technical briefing.

It's great when a leader is smart enough to explain his major proposals. It's really annoying when nobody else can. It makes you wonder, if you weren't already completely sold on a leader, whether he's making it up as he goes along and whether he'll have a clue how to proceed if he wins.

On current form, Harper seems to have a month before an election. It's precious little time to build a team and a plan for government. Being voters this time—the crucial Canadian government—won't replace one leader one-man government with another. ☐

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